EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO NEW TESTAMENT VARIANT READINGS AMONG GREEK AND LATIN CHURCH FATHERS

VOLUME II

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by

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INTRODUCTION

1. Sources

The starting point for the Catalogue was Metzger's expanded list (based on Nestle's original) of explicit references to variants among the fathers.[1] Since this list includes only names and Scripture references, it was necessary to find each of these texts within the works of each father.[2] Search engines, such as the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae and Patrologia Latina, have been invaluable in finding these texts and further augmenting this list through a search of key phrases. Since Nestle's and Metzger's lists were compiled primarily through a manual search of Tischendorf's apparatus,[3] this also provided an important resource; in at least one instance where no additional source has been located for the patristic quotation in question, Tischendorf himself has been used as the cited source. In imitation of this strategy, the apparatuses of NA[27] and UBS[4] have also been manually scoured for references not included in Metzger's list. A combination

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[1] Bruce M. Metzger, "St. Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament" in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 188-90. Cf. E. Nestle, *Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament* (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1899), 266-67; *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* (trans. W. Edie; Williams and Norgate, 1901), 165-67. The lists are presented in a comparative chart in Appendix A, below.

[2] Due to this limited nature of Metzger's list, unearthing all texts on the list was challenging, and at some points has thus far proved impossible (this is especially true for examples that apparently were culled from the apparatus of a previous edition of UBS but no longer appear in UBS[4]—these may in fact not be explicit references to variants, which is why they could not be located). For this reason, not all items on Metzger's list are included in the Catalogue; other texts were excluded because they did not qualify as explicit references to known variants. See the chart in Appendix A.

[3] Constantin von Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (2 vols.; 8th ed. critica maior; 1872; repr. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck, 1965). Metzger also expanded this list by searching through the UBS apparatus, prior to the 4th edition.

of these methods has provided a representative, if not comprehensive, list of explicit references to variant readings among the Greek and Latin church fathers.

2. Parameters

In order to facilitate broader use of the Catalogue beyond the limitations of the present study, the net has been cast widely to glean as many references as possible, extending as late as the 12th century. For the Greek authors, the basic criterion to identify an explicit reference to a variant is that the author indicates knowledge of more than one reading for a specific word or passage. The variant need not be attested elsewhere, but it must clearly be part of the MS tradition rather than merely a suggested emendation; however, since the line between known variants and conjectures is sometimes blurry (and since the latter are also valuable for understanding textual scholarship in antiquity), speculative discussions have also been included but are relegated to a separate section, the Additional Texts.

Among the Latin authors, issues of translation complicate the matter. When a Latin father mentions multiple readings in the NT text, it can be any one of at least four types: (1) comparison of the Greek term with the Latin equivalent without any discernment of MS traditions; (2) comparison of Greek MSS with the Latin, or vice versa; (3) differentiation between various Latin MSS; or (4) merely a discussion of translation options, either differences between the Greek and Latin meanings or different Latin renderings of the Greek (as attested in the MSS or proposed by the author). These four types of discussions thus provide the following evidence (in agreement with the numbering above): (1) comparison of the Old Latin, Itala, or Vulgate as a version against

the Greek tradition; (2) distinction of trends among Greek or Latin MSS; (3) information about the Old Latin, Itala, or Vulgate without reference to the Greek; or (4) translation options rather than variants (unless the different translations emerge from separate Greek variants).

While information about the Latin versions is important to NT textual criticism, the purpose of the Catalogue is to provide evidence for the Greek text, and therefore only discussions that testify to Greek variants are included. For this reason and the constraints of space and time, the Latin material is intended only to be representative, not comprehensive, as a supplement to the Greek material; without the Latin material, any discussion of the Greek text, especially in the 4th and 5th centuries, would be incomplete.[4] Therefore, the Latin material that testifies to or reinforces Greek variants has been included in the Catalogue, whereas discussions relating to issues of translation or variants known strictly in the Latin tradition have been excluded or relegated to the Additional Texts. Some of the latter have been included in this study only because they appear in either Nestle's or Metzger's list.

3. Limitations

When Nestle and Metzger enthusiastically recommended a study such as this, their words held much hope and promise for the objective value of this material in comparison with the subjective discussions of patristic quotations and allusions. But any study based on patristic materials is riddled with its own problems, and so this Catalogue,

[4] Unfortunately, the choice to exclude the Syriac evidence also limits the conclusions that may be drawn (see further comments on the Syriac in the General Introduction). However, the valuable Syriac discussions on variants appear to come predominantly from a later period than is of primary interest here, making their absence more of a gap in the Catalogue than in the analysis in Volume I.

while useful, will not yield as much concrete data as they had hoped.[5] One chief problem is the issue of critical editions. While the Catalogue makes use of the most recent critical texts of each patristic author's work whenever possible, the dearth of critical editions for many church fathers has made reliance on Migne an unfortunate necessity at some points. As noted above, in at least one instance (see also the notes in Appendix A) the quotation could not be located in Migne or a critical edition and is therefore cited from Tischendorf since his own source could not be accessed.

A further issue is attribution. Many of the texts given here are found among the catenae, for which authorship is often dubious; some texts are found both within a later commentary and separately in a scholion attributed to a different author (particularly Origen); and other texts are found within dubious or spurious works. Even those works that are generally considered authentic may be disputed by some scholars, or the portion of the work within which the quoted text falls may be in doubt. In the interest of casting the net widely, the Catalogue includes all such dubious and spurious texts; while they do have value by illustrating broader trends in which variants are commented upon and common arguments are used to weigh variants, such texts are of limited value in discussions for specific fathers, places, or eras (and therefore are generally not discussed in the analysis in Chaps. 2-4).

4. Format

Each catalogue entry provides the text and translation for the quotation of the explicit reference, along with the other external evidence and a brief discussion of the

[5] This point is discussed more fully in the General Introduction and the Conclusion.

quotation’s context and/or the variant’s treatment by the author. The entries are arranged in canonical order, then in alphabetical order by author. The Greek and Latin fathers are intermingled. As noted above, those examples that are purely conjecture on the part of the author (no variants are attested or expressly cited) or possibly witness only the Latin tradition or translational rather then textual variation, and are still worth including, have been placed in the Additional Texts. However, on a few occasions passages better placed in Additional Texts have been retained in the Catalogue in order to keep discussions of particular variants gathered in one place.

4.1. Number, Author, and Work

Each text, or pair of texts from the same work, has been given a paragraph number to be used in Volume I for ease of reference (e.g., §25). Passages in the Additional Texts are included in the Catalogue numbering to keep them within the canonical order. When multiple authors address a specific variant or verse, their texts are arranged alphabetically by the author under whose name the text has been published; when there are multiple discussions for a variant by the same author, an attempt has been made to place these in chronological order. In some instances, the text is actually a dubious or spurious work (generally referred to here as “Pseudo-,” following Nestle and Metzger). In the case of scholia that have been attributed to different authors by different editors, both authors and citations are given together, along with both copies of the text if they differ significantly. Where the discussion of the variant is inserted by the translator or is quoted from another father, the text is generally listed under the name of the author of the work with the translator or quoted writer listed in brackets (e.g., Origen’s

Commentary on Romans, where the entries are listed under Origen even when the comment on the variant appears to be inserted by Rufinus). Authors listed as "Pseudo-" are alphabetized not by "P" but by the name of the attributed author. For more information on each author listed in the Catalogue, see Appendix C.

4.2. Variants

After the author and citation, the variants are presented, numbered as 1, 2, etc. However, the numbering is more a matter of distinguishing the variants (for the purpose of reference) than of priority. In general, 1 represents the lemma, assumed base text, or preferred text of the author. In many cases, though, both variants are treated equally, so the numbers cannot be used strictly to indicate preference. On a few occasions, only one variant is explicitly mentioned by the author, while the other is implied (often when the latter is the omission of the text in question). In these instances, the implied variant is noted by an asterisk (e.g., 2*). The evidence cited after each variant duplicates the apparatus from NA^{27}. Where the variant is so rare that it is not included in this apparatus, another source is used and cited (such as Swanson).[6] If "NA," "UBS," and/or "Metzger" appear in brackets after a variant (next to the reading found in the text of these editions), that indicates the variant is noted in the apparatus of each and is discussed in Metzger's *Textual Commentary*.[7] In a few rare cases, Metzger expresses disagreement with the committee of UBS, and his name is placed in brackets after the variant that he prefers.

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[6] *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus* (ed. by R. J. Swanson, 9 vols. [Matthew-Galatians]; Pasadena, CA: William Carey International University Press, 1995-2005).

[7] B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1994).

4.3. Text and Translation

Texts are reproduced from the most recent or reliable critical edition available. In many cases, no critical edition has been undertaken and the text has been cited from Migne. In parentheses after the text is the series abbreviation, volume, and page number, or the editor's name and page number. If the bibliography for the edition is not given in a footnote, then it is included in the List of Abbreviations in the front matter (see Volume I). For the sake of space, only the portion of text directly pertinent to the textual variant(s) has been given; the surrounding context is elaborated upon in the paragraph that follows the translation. Below the text is an English translation, quoting the most recent or accurate published translation if possible. In parentheses after the translation is the series, volume, and page number, or translator and page number, for the translation source. When the translation has been relied upon heavily but has been updated or amended, it is followed by "[modified]." Where no parentheses appear with such information, the translation is my own.

4.4. Context and Commentary

Following the text and translation is an explanation of the immediate context and/or brief commentary on how the variants are introduced and approached by the author. The commentary sections vary depending on the amount of context and other relevant information for that text, author, or variant. The purpose of the commentary is to restore information about the context that the excerpt has been separated from; it is not intended to reproduce the analysis in Volume I (for texts reliably attributed to authors

through the 5th century, more extensive comments are included in Chaps. 2-4), so it generally functions more as a summary than a critical discussion.

5. Overview

Below is a condensed list of the verses included in the Catalogue (and Additional Texts). For a listing of verses by author, see Appendix A.

Matthew 1:11; 2:11; 4:17; 5:4-5; 5:22; 5:32; 5:44; 5:45; 6:1; 6:4; 6:13; 6:25; 7:24; 8:28 (// Mark 5:1; Luke 8:26); 10:3; 11:19 (cf. Luke 7:35); 11:23; 13:35; 16:2-3; 16:20; 18:1; 19:19; 21:5; 21:9; 21:9, 15; 21:31; 24:19; 24:36; 26:63 (//Mark 14:61); 27:9; 27:17

Mark 1:2; 2:14; 3:18; 6:8; 8:10; 15:25 (see John 19:14); 15:34; 16:2; 16:9ff.; 16:14

Luke 1:35; 1:46; 2:4 (//John 7:42); 2:33; 3:22; 7:35 (cf. Matthew 11:19); 8:26 (see Matthew 8:28); 9:48; 11:13; 14:19; 14:27; 22:36; 22:43-44; 23:45

John 1:4; 1:28; 3:6; 3:34; 4:5; 7:53-8:11; 12:28; 12:31; 16:13; 19:14 (//Mark 15:25)

Acts 14:26; 15:29 (see also Appendix B)

Romans 3:5; 3:9; 4:3; 5:14; 7:6; 7:18; 8:11; 8:22; 12:11; 12:13; 16:3; 16:5; 16:25-27

1 Corinthians 9:5; 10:22; 11:10; 13:3; 15:5; 15:51; 15:52

2 Corinthians 1:1; 5:3

Galatians 2:5; 3:1; 4:8; 5:21

Ephesians 1:1; 1:6; 2:4; 3:14; 3:17; 4:19; 4:29; 5:14; 5:22

Philippians 3:3; 3:14

Colossians 2:15; 2:18; 3:15

2 Thessalonians 2:3; 2:8; 3:14

1 Timothy 1:15; 4:3; 5:19

2 Timothy 4:6; 4:10

Titus 3:10; 3:15

Hebrews 2:9; 9:17; 10:1

2 Peter 1:1

1 John 4:3

Revelation 1:2; 2:22; 3:7; 4:11; 13:18; 15:6

CATALOGUE

Matthew 1:11

1. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 1.8.1-4

1: τὸν ᾿Ιωακίμ, ᾿Ιωακὶμ δὲ ἐγέννησεν M Θ f^1 33 *al* sy^{h**}; Ir$^{lat\ vid}$ (cf. D^{luc})

2: *omit* (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> Καὶ μηδεὶς περὶ τούτου ἀμφιβαλλέτω, θαυμαζέτω δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀκριβολογίαν, ὠφελίμως ἐνταῦθα κειμένην τοῖς σπουδαίοις χρηστομαθίας ἕνεκα τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν γραφῶν καταλαμβάνειν ἐθέλουσιν, οἵτινες εὐθὺς μετὰ τῆς ὠφελείας εὐγνωμονεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται, κερδήσαντες τὸ ὑπό τινων ἀμαθῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ δι' ἀμφιβολίαν ὡς κατὰ διόρθωσιν ἀφανισθὲν ῥητόν. τριχῶς γὰρ ἀριθμήσαντος τοῦ ἁγίου Ματθαίου τὰς γενεάς, ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾿Αβραὰμ μέχρι τοῦ Δαυὶδ φήσαντος γενεὰς δεκατέσσαρας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἕως τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας γενεὰς δεκατέσσαρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἕως τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεὰς δεκατέσσαρας, οἱ δύο ἀνώτεροι ἀριθμοὶ σαφεῖς εὑρίσκονται, μηδεμίαν ἔλλειψιν ἀριθμοῦ περιέχοντες· ἕως γὰρ τοῦ ᾿Ιεχονίου περιέχουσι τοὺς χρόνους· ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἀριθμὸς οὐκέτι δεκατεσσάρων γενεῶν εὑρίσκεται κατὰ διαδοχὴν ὀνομάτων ἔχων τὸ πλήρωμα, ἀλλὰ δεκατριῶν, ἐπειδή τινες εὑρόντες ᾿Ιεχονίαν ἅμα ᾿Ιεχονίᾳ ἑτέρῳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνόμισαν τὸν ἀριθμὸν δεδισσολογημένον. οὐκ ἦν δὲ δισσολογία, ἀλλὰ ἀριθμὸς σαφής. εἰς ὄνομα γὰρ πατρὸς ὁ παῖς ἐπεκέκλητο ᾿Ιεχονίας τοῦ ᾿Ιεχονίου. ἀφελόμενοι οὖν τινες ὡς κατὰ φιλοκαλίαν τὸ ἓν ὄνομα, ἀγνοίᾳ φερόμενοι, ἐλλιπῆ ἐποιήσαντο τῆς ὑποθέσεως κατὰ τὴν ὁμάδα τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δεκατεσσάρων ὀνομάτων τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τὸ πολύπειρον τῆς σχέσεως ἠφάνισαν. (GCS, Epi 2:194-95)

> And no reader need have any doubt about him. Rather, he should admire the full discussion which has helpfully been set down here for good people who, for the sake of useful learning, would like to understand the precise sense of scripture. Simultaneously with the help they must feel relieved at once, at having regained the wording which, because of an ambiguity, certain ignorant persons have removed from the text with the intent of improving it.
>
> For St. Matthew enumerated the generations (of Christ's genealogy) in three divisions, and said that there were fourteen generations from Abraham till David, fourteen from David till the captivity, and fourteen from the captivity until Christ. The first two counts are plain to be seen with no lack of an item, for they include the times previous to Jeconiah. But we see that the third count no longer has the total of fourteen generations found in a succession of names, but the total

of thirteen. This is because certain persons found a Jeconiah next to another Jeconiah, and thought that the item had been duplicated. It was not a duplication however, but a distinct item. The son had been named "Jeconiah the son of Jeconiah" for his father. By removing the one name as though for scholarship's sake, certain persons ignorantly made the promise (which is implied in the text) come short of its purpose with regard to the total of the fourteen names, and destroyed the regularity of the arrangement. (Williams, 1:30-31)

In the preceding sentence, Epiphanius explains that Jeconiah son of Josiah had a son named Jeconiah, also known as both Zedekiah and Jehoiakim. Epiphanius proceeds to explain the variant: the name Jeconiah was deleted because some mistook it for reduplication. The implicit argument is that Jehoiakim (the only extant variant) was understood to be an alias for Jeconiah and therefore was redundant in the list and removed. Epiphanius argues that this deletion throws off Matthew's number so that this portion of the list no longer numbers fourteen.

Matthew 2:11

2. Epiphanius, *Pan.*, *De Fide* 8.3

1: τὰς πήρας

2: τοὺς θησαυρούς (majority of witnesses)[1]

πότε οὖν ἔλαβεν αὐτὰ »πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι καλεῖν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα«, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἦλθον οἱ μάγοι καὶ »ἤνοιξαν τὰς πήρας ἑαυτῶν« (ἢ τοὺς θησαυρούς, ὡς ἔχει ἔνια τῶν ἀντιγράφων) καὶ προσήνεγκαν καὶ σμύρναν καὶ λίβανον καὶ χρυσόν«; (GCS, Epi 3:504)

Therefore when did he receive these things "before he knew to call 'Father' or 'Mother'" [Isa 8:4], but when the magi came and "opened their wallets" (or

[1] No variant is present here in NA, UBS, or Swanson. Cf. B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort ("Notes on Select Readings," in *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* [1881; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988], 8), who cite only Epiphanius (i 430, 1085) as evidence and suggest: "Perhaps a confusion of the canonical Gospel with the apocryphal *Book of James* xxi 3." Cf. *Protevangelium of James* 21:11: Καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ μάγοι ἑστῶτα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας, ἐξέβαλον ἀπὸ τῆς πήρας αὐτῶν δῶρα χρυσὸν καὶ λίβανον καὶ σμύρναν.

“treasures,” as some of the copies have) “and offered myrrh, frankincense, and gold”?

Epiphanius is explaining that the various religious sects are “concubines,” as Keturah was concubine to Abraham. The offspring of such unions are not joint heirs with the legitimate children (like Isaac) to receive the inheritance, but they do receive gifts, which are the scriptural truths that have been handed down by the sects. The magi, descendants of Keturah, likewise offered gifts to Christ at his birth “to gain their share of the same hope,” as foretold in Isa 8:4. Matthew 2:11, therefore, shows the fulfillment of this prophecy. The magi (the sects) are thus told not to return to Herod, for if they did, the gifts would be of no use to them. In this context, Epiphanius is not concerned with the variant but only notes it in passing.

Matthew 4:17

3. Cyril of Alexandria, *Fr. Matt.* 36; or Origen, *Fr. Matt.* 74

1: μετανοεῖτε (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: *omit* k sy$^{s.c}$; Eus

> Ἔν τισι τὸ μετανοεῖτε οὐ κεῖται. εἰ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ ὁ σωτὴρ Ἰωάννῃ λέγει, εἷς ὁ πέμψας ἀμφοτέρους θεός. καὶ τάχα Ἰωάννης μὲν ὡς »ἑτοιμάζων« θεῷ »κατεσκευασμένον« πρῶτος λέγει μετανοεῖτε, Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἡτοιμασμένα παραλαβὼν μηκέτι δεόμενα μετανοίας οὐ λέγει μετανοεῖτε. οὐκ ἀντικηρύσσων δὲ νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις, πληρώσαντι δὲ Ἰωάννῃ τὴν παλαιὰν κηρύσσειν ἤρξατο τὴν νέαν, αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ γενόμενος αὐτῆς. διὸ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννου οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ἤρξατο· πέρας γὰρ ἦν. καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐν ἐρήμῳ κηρύσσει, ὁ δὲ ἐν λαῷ. ἡ δὲ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ διαθέσει. »ἐντὸς« γὰρ »ἡμῶν ἐστιν«. ὅρα δὲ εἰ Ἰωάννης μὲν κηρύσσει ἐγγίζουσαν βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, βασιλεὺς Χριστὸς ἣν παραδώσει »τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί«. (Reuss, 164; attributed to Cyril)

> Ἔν τισι τὸ μετανοεῖτε οὐ κεῖται. εἰ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ ὁ σωτὴρ Ἰωάννῃ λέγει, εἷς ὁ ἀμφοτέρους πέμψας θεός. καὶ τάχα Ἰωάννης μὲν ὡς ἑτοιμάζων θεῷ »λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον« πρῶτος λέγει μετανοεῖτε,

᾿Ιησοῦς δὲ ἡτοιμασμένα παραλαβὼν μηκέτι δεόμενα μετανοίας οὐ λέγει μετανοεῖτε. οὐκ ἀντικηρύσσων δὲ νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις, πληρώσαντι δὲ ᾿Ιωάννῃ τὴν παλαιὰν κηρύσσειν ἤρξατο τὴν νέαν, αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ γενόμενος αὐτῆς. διὸ ἐπὶ ᾿Ιωάννου οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ἤρξατο· πέρας γὰρ ἦν. καὶ ἔτι ὁ μὲν ἐν ἐρήμῳ κηρύσσει, ὁ δὲ ἐν λαῷ. ἡ δὲ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ διαθέσει. »ἐντὸς« γὰρ »ἡμῶν ἐστιν«. ὅρα δὲ εἰ ᾿Ιωάννης μὲν κηρύσσει ἐγγίζουσαν βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, βασιλεὺς Χριστὸς ἣν παραδώσει »τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί«. (GCS, Or 12.3:45; attributed to Origen)

Some copies do not have "repent." But if the Savior does say the same things as John [the Baptist], it is because one God sent them both. And perhaps John, in making ready for God "a prepared (people)" [Luke 1:17], first says "repent"; so Jesus, inheriting a people made ready and no longer in need of repentance, did not say "repent." He was not preaching against the law and the prophets, but, as John fulfilled, the old began to preach the new, Jesus himself being the beginning of this. Therefore regarding John it is not written that "he began"; for he was the end. And (while) the one preaches in the midst of the desert, the other preaches in the midst of the people. But the "kingdom of heaven" is not in a place, but in a state of mind. For "it is within you" [Luke 17:21]. And see, if John preaches the approaching kingdom of heaven, it is the one which Christ the king will hand over to his "God and father" [1 Cor 15:24].

This scholion does not argue for the preference of one variant over the other but explains the validity of both. If Jesus did say "repent," as the lemma has, it confirms that he and John the Baptist were sent by the same God with the same message. If, however, Jesus did not say "repent," as some MSS read, it was because John had already succeeded at getting the people to repent, so the command was no longer necessary.

Matthew 5:4-5

4. Theodore (of Heraclea or of Mopsuestia), *Fr. Matt.* 15

1: vv. 5/4 D 33 lat sy^{c} bo^{ms}; Or Eus

2: vv. 4/5 (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

Τινὲς δέ φασιν μὴ περὶ νοητῆς ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι γῆς – ἀλλὰ μετὰ τούτων κἀκεῖνα παρέχων. τοῦτον δὲ μακαρισμόν τινες τῶν ἀντιγράφων τρίτον περιέχουσιν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν ἑξῆς τούτων κείμενον. (Reuss, 140)

> But some say these things were not spoken concerning a perceptible earth—rather, with the latter he presents also the former. But some of the copies have this beatitude third, and second the one lying after these things.

In this scholion on Matthew 5:5 attributed to a Theodore, the author states merely that, unlike his lemma with v. 5 as the third beatitude, this verse and the preceding one are transposed in some MSS. No further commentary is offered on the verse.

Matthew 5:22

5. Apollinaris, *Fr. Matt.* 19

1: εἰκῇ $\aleph^2$ D L W Θ 0233 $f^{1.13}$ 33 𝔐 it sy co; Ir^{lat} Or^{mss} Cyp Cyr

2: *omit* $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$ ℵ* B 1424^{mg} pc aur vg; Or $Hier^{mss}$ [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> εἰ δὲ μὴ εἴρηται εἰκῇ, ὥς τινες βούλονται μὴ εἶναι * * * καθὸ γὰρ ἁμαρτάνει, οὐκ ἔστιν πνευματικός· ὁ δὲ μὴ πνευματικὸς οὐδὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀληθῶς. τὸν φονέα παραδίδωσι τῇ κρίσει τοῦ νόμου, τὸν δὲ ὀργιζομένον τῇ αἰωνίᾳ κρίσει. Θεόδωρος δὲ καὶ Θεόδωρος παραγράφονται τὸ εἰκῇ ὡς οὐκ εἰρημένον. (Reuss, 6)

> But if it does not say "without cause," as some wish that it does not * * * For insofar as he sins, he is not spiritual; but the one who is not spiritual is not truly a brother. He hands "the murderer" over to the "judgment" of the law, but "the one who is angry" to eternal "judgment." But Theodore and Theodore[2] write "without cause" next to the text as not being mentioned.

In this scholion, Apollinaris distinguishes between those things judged according to the law and those judged according to the Spirit. In this context, the reference to a "brother" in Matthew 5 therefore applies to a member of the family of God. The text is fragmentary at two points, but the discussion makes reference to the phrase "without sin," suggesting that some prefer this phrase to be omitted from the text. Apollinaris concludes with a comment that "Theodore and Theodore" include the phrase "without

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[2] Reuss identifies these as Theodore of Heraclea and Theodore of Mopsuestia, both of whom are said to have composed commentaries on Matthew, extant now only in catenae.

cause" in the margin. Reuss (p. 7 no. 20) includes another scholion for 5:22, but it discusses only the subsequent portion of the verse.

6. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Epistulae ad Castorem* 2

1: *omit* (see above)

2: εἰκῇ

> Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Δεσπότης, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς, ὅτι δεῖ πᾶσαν ὀργὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι, φησὶν ἐν τοῖς ᾿Εὐαγγελίοις· « Ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει. » Οὕτω γὰρ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὰ ἀκριβῆ περιέχει· τὸ γὰρ εἰκῆ, ἐκ προσθήκης ἐτέθη· καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου λήμματος τῆς Γραφῆς. (PG 28:896)

> But the Lord himself, teaching us that it is necessary to set aside all anger, says in the Gospels, "Everyone who is angry with his brother will be liable to judgment." For this is what the accurate copies contain; for "without cause" was put down as an addition; and this is clear from the preceding received text of Scripture.

The author of this letter is discussing the root of anger being in the heart. He cites a passage from Rom 2:15-16, which refers to private thoughts standing witness against people in the day of judgment, and then turns to Matt 5:22. The variant is mentioned only in passing, with the assertion that the more accurate copies are lacking the variant. The veracity of the lemma is argued from context, as the author explains that the Lord was not allowing an exception here, because he wanted them to root out all anger so that when they had grounds for righteous indignation, they would not fly into a rage.

7. Augustine, *Retract.* 1.19.4

1: sine causa [εἰκῇ] (see above)

2: *omit*

> Illud etiam melius intelleximus postea quod scriptum est: *Qui irascitur fratri suo*. Codices enim Greci non habent *sine causa*, sicut hic positum est,

> quamuis idem ipse sit sensus. Illud enim diximus intuendum, quid sit irasci fratri suo, quoniam non fratri irascitur, qui peccato fratris irascitur. Qui ergo fratri non peccato irascitur, sine causa irascitur. (CCSL 57:57)
>
> Likewise, at a later time, we had a much better understanding of the text: "Whosoever is angry with his brother." For the Greek manuscripts do not have "without cause" as is stated here [i.e., in some Latin manuscripts], although the meaning is the same. For we said that it is necessary to consider what to be angry with one's brother means, for one who is angry at the sin of his brother is not angry with his brother. He, then, who is angry with his brother, but not because of his sin, is angry without cause. (FC 60:81)

In response to his previous discussions of Matthew 5 (cf. *Serm. Dom.* 1.9.25; *Civ.* 21.27), Augustine explains that he has since come to learn that the Greek copies lack the variant. However, he determines that with or without this phrase, the meaning of the verse is the same because the person who is angry with the brother rather than with the brother's sin is angry without cause.

8. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 5:22

1: *omit* (see above)

2: sine causa [εἰκῇ]

> **Omnis qui irascitur fratri suo.** In quibusdam codicibus additur: sine causa. Ceterum in ueris definita sententia est et ira penitus tollitur, scriptura dicente: *Qui irascitur fratri suo.* Si enim iubemur uerberanti alteram praebere maxillam et inimicos nostros amare et orare pro persequentibus, omnis irae occasio tollitur. Radendum est ergo: sine causa, quia *ira uiri iustitiam Dei non operator.* (SC 242:112)
>
> *"Everyone who is angry with his brother."* In some codices the words are added: "without reason." But in the authentic texts the judgment is definite and anger is completely taken away, since the Scripture says: "Whoever is angry with his brother." For if we are commanded to turn the other cheek to the one who strikes us, and to love our enemies, and to pray for those who persecute us [cf. Luke 6], every pretext for anger is removed. Therefore, the words "without reason" should be erased. For "man's anger does not work the justice of God" [James 1:20]. (FC 117:78-79)

Jerome begins his commentary on Matt 5:22 by citing a version that lacks the variant "without cause"[3] and then mentioning that some copies add this, although the MSS that are the most true lack the qualifying phrase so that every occasion for anger is included in the statement. He cites other scriptural authority for this idea and then asserts that the phrase should be stricken from the texts. After this, Jerome continues with his commentary on the next clause in the verse.

9. Jerome, *Pelag.* 2.5

1: sine causa [εἰκῇ] (see above)

2: *omit*

> Et in eodem Euangelio legimus: *Qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa, reus erit iudicio,* licet in plerisque antiquis codicibus *sine causa* non additum sit, ut scilicet ne cum causa quidem debeamus irasci. Quis hominum potest dicere quod ira, quae absque iustitia est, in sempiternum careat? (CCSL 80:60)
>
> And in the same Gospel, we read: "Whoever is angry with his brother without cause shall be liable to judgment'; although in many of the ancient copies, the phrase, "without cause," has not been added, so that we should not be angry, to be sure, even with cause. What person can claim to be free forever from the fault of anger, a fault that is without justice? (FC 53:302 [modified])

In answer to the Pelagian claim that humans can follow the law and live blamelessly, Jerome cites a number of passages. After discussing law and judgment in James, a quotation of James 1:20 leads Jerome into a string of citations regarding anger, including Prov 15:2, Ps 4:5, Eph 4:26, and then Matt 5:22. Jerome determines that it is a sin to be angry, even to the slightest degree. Although he quotes the verse from Matthew as containing the phrase "without cause," he quickly point outs that many older copies

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[3] Notice that the lemma used here by Jerome differs from that in his *Against the Pelagians* (see §9, below), but in both places, his opinion of the variant is the same.

lack this phrase, which reinforces that anger is never justified, for any reason. Without further comment on the variant, Jerome returns to his argument, turning to another string of scriptural citations that emphasize human failings.

10. Origen, *Fr. Eph.* 4:31

1: *omit* (see above)

2: εἰκῇ

> ἐπεὶ δέ τινες οἴονται εὐλόγως ποτὲ γίνεσθαι ὀργήν, μὴ καλῶς προστιθέντες τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τὸ ‘εἰκῆ’ κατὰ τὸ ῥητόν ὃς ἂν ὀργισθῇ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει—ἀνέγνωσαν γάρ τινες ὃς ἐὰν ὀργισθῇ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκῆ—δυσωπήσωμεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου ῥητοῦ λέγοντ<ο>ς **πᾶσα πικρία καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ βλασφημία ἀρθήτω ἀφ’ ὑμῶν**. σαφῶς γὰρ ἐνθάδε ἡ **πᾶσα** φωνὴ κατὰ κοινοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων εἴρηται, ὡς μηδεμιᾶς **πικρίας** συγχωρουμένης μηδὲ **θυμοῦ** τινος ἐπιτρεπομένου μηδὲ **ὀργῆς** τινος εὐλόγως συνερχομένης. καὶ ἐν τριακοστῷ ἕκτῳ ψαλμῷ, ὡς πάσης ὀργῆς ἁμαρτίας οὔσης (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θυμοῦ), λέγεται παῦσαι ἀπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐγκατάλειπε θυμόν. οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ποτὲ εὐλόγως ὀργισθῆναί τινι. (Gregg)[4]
>
> Since some think that anger sometimes occurs with good reason because they improperly add to the Gospel the word ‘without cause’ in the saying, ‘Whoever is angry with his brother will be liable to judgement’ (Matt. 5:22)—for some have read, ‘Whoever is angry with his brother without cause’—let us convince them of their error from the statement under discussion which says, ‘Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamour and blasphemy be removed from you.’ For the term ‘all’ here clearly applies to all the nouns in common, so that no bitterness is allowed, no wrath is permitted, and no anger occurs with good reason. It is said in the thirty-sixth Psalm, since all anger is sin (and likewise also wrath), ‘Cease from anger, and leave wrath’ (Ps. 36:8). It is never possible, therefore, to be angry with someone with good reason. (Heine, 205-6)[5]

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[4] J. A. F. Gregg, “The Commentary of Origen upon the Epistle to the Ephesians,” *JTS* 3 (1902): 557.

[5] In Heine’s comparison of Jerome’s and Origen’s commentaries in adjacent columns, there is no parallel to this paragraph in Jerome’s commentary. This is especially striking since (1) Jerome parallels Origen for most of the commentary on Eph 4:31 (including the portions immediately before and after this paragraph), and (2) Jerome discusses this variant in at least two other places (see above). It may, therefore, bear closer examination whether this is the proper location (or attribution?) for this scholion, or whether the copy Jerome used contained it.

In this extended scholion on Eph 4:31, Origen argues against the notion raised by the variant in Matt 5:22. He notes that whereas some include the exception "without cause," this is incorrect because Scripture does not make such exceptions to anger elsewhere. Both Ephesians and the Psalms testify that, contrary to the variant, all anger is sin and there is therefore no legitimate cause for anger that would exempt someone from judgment.

Matthew 5:32

11. Augustine, *Adult. conj.* 1.10 (11)

1: qui dimissam a uiro duxerit, moechatur [ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ, μοιχᾶται] ℵ(*) L W (Θ) 0250 $f^{1.(13)}$ 33 𝔐 lat? sy^h sa? mae bo [or: ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται B *pc* sa?; Or] [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: *omit* D *pc* a b k; Or^{mss}

> Non autem — sicut nescio quare tibi uisum est — cum euangelii secundum Matthaeum uerba proferrem, praetermisi quod scriptum est: et aliam duxerit, et sic dixi: moechatur; sed haec uerba posui, quae in sermone illo prolixo leguntur, quem dominus habuit in monte; hunc enim tractandum susceperam. quae uerba illic ita leguntur, ut posui, id est: quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam excepta causa fornicationis, facit eam moechari; et qui solutam a uiro duxerit, moechatur. ubi etsi nonnulla exemplaria uerbis diuersis eundem sensum habent interpretatum, non tamen ab eo quod intellegitur discrepant. alia quippe habent: quicumque dimiserit, alia: omnis qui dimiserit; itemque alia: excepta causa fornicationis, alia: praeter causam fornicationis, alia: nisi ob causam fornicationis; item alia: qui solutam a uiro duxerit, moechatur, alia: qui dimissam a uiro duxerit, moechatur. ubi puto quod uideas nihil interesse ad unam eandemque sententiam. quamuis illud ultimum, id est qui dimissam a uiro duxerit, moechatur, in eo sermone, quem dominus fecit in monte, nonnulli codices et graeci et latini non habeant. credo propterea, quia et ibi explicatus hic sensus putari potuit, quod superius dictum est: facit eam moechari; quomodo enim dimissa fit moecha, nisi fiat qui eam duxerit moechus? (CSEL 41:358-59)

> In quoting from the gospel as written by Matthew, I did not leave out the phrase *and marries someone else*, and just say *he commits adultery* (and I do not know why it seemed to you that I did). I quoted the words as we read them in that longer sermon that the Lord preached on the mount. It was this that I set out to discuss, and the words we read there are, as I quoted them: *Anyone who divorces his wife except in the case of adultery causes her to commit adultery; and anyone who marries a woman divorced by her husband commits adultery* (Mt 5:32). At this point some manuscripts say the same thing in different words, but there is no difference in the meaning of what is said. Some have *Anyone who divorces*; others *everyone who divorces.* Some have *except in the case of adultery*; others *apart from the case of adultery*; others *unless it is for adultery*. Some have *the one who marries a woman separated from her husband commits adultery*; others *the one who marries a woman divorced by her husband commits adultery*. I think you can see that nothing there makes any difference to the single, identical doctrine. It may well be that some of the manuscripts, both Greek and Latin, do not have those last words, namely, *the one who marries a woman divorced by her husband commits adultery*, as part of the Lord's sermon on the mount. I think this is because what this says is implied by the earlier statement, *he causes her to commit adultery*. How can the divorced woman become an adulteress without the man who marries her becoming an adulterer? (Kearney)[6]

In the midst of his discussion of Matt 5:32 and the relationship between divorce and adultery, Augustine brings in the evidence from Mark and Luke and then mentions the variations in the textual tradition of Matthew. His final statement here, that the man who marries a divorced woman is an adulterer, is in line with his preceding argument. He thus assumes the variant to be authentic but allows that even if it is lacking from some MSS, the same principle is already implied earlier in the passage. After this, he returns to the Synoptic parallels so that any ambiguity in Matthew can be clarified by the other evidence.

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[6] Augustine, *Marriage and Virginity* (trans. R. Kearney; Works of St. Augustine I/9; New York: New City, 1999), 149.

12. Origen, *Fr. Matt.* 104

1: ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται (see above)[7]

2: *omit*

> ᾿Ιστέον δὲ ὅτι ἐν πολλοῖς οὐχ εὕρομεν τὸ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται. (GCS, Or 12.3:59)
>
> But know that in many [copies] we do not find "the one who marries a divorced woman commits adultery."

In this brief scholion, Origen merely mentions the variant without giving any further explanation or exegesis.

Matthew 5:44

13. Peter of Laodicea, *Comm. Matt.* 5:43-48

1a: εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς D L W Θ f^{13} 33 𝔐 lat $sy^{(p).h}$ mae; (Athen, Cl) Eus

2a: *omit* 1230. 1242* *pc* lat; Eus^{pt}; ℵ B f^{1} *pc* k $sy^{s.c}$ sa bo^{pt}; Theoph $Ir^{lat\ vid}$ Or Cyp [NA, UBS, Metzger]

1b: προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς L W Θ f^{13} 33 𝔐 lat $sy^{(p).h}$ mae; (Athen, Cl)

2b: προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς (ℵ B f^{1} *pc* k $sy^{s.c}$ sa bo^{pt}; Theoph $Ir^{lat\ vid}$ Or Cyp) [NA, UBS, Metzger][8]

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[7] The preferred reading of NA^{27} and UBS^{4} is yet a third variant: ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ, μοιχᾶται (see §11, above).

[8] Both of these clauses typically occur as part of a longer variant that reads: εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. However, Peter only mentions the first and third clauses. If indeed his lemma contained the first and third clauses but lacked the second (and therefore it was not present for him to comment on its absence in other MSS), then it was in agreement with 1071 *pc;* Cl Eus^{pt}.

> ἀγαπῶμεν τοίνυν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐ καθὸ μοιχοί εἰσιν ἢ φονεῖς, ἀλλὰ καθὸ ἄνθρωποι· τὸ γὰρ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐνεργείας ἐστίν, οὐκ οὐσίας. ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν οὐ μέχρι ψιλοῦ ῥήματος ὀφείλει θέλειν τινὶ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργεῖν πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι τὰ δέοντα. τὸ δὲ εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς ἐν ἄλλοις οὐ κεῖται. ὑπερεύχου τοίνυν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν τούτῳ αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος, ἐν τῷ μὴ συνεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἐμμένουσι τῇ πονηρίᾳ. (Heinrici, 56)

> Let us therefore love our enemies, not insofar as they are adulterers or murderers, but insofar as they are human beings; for sinning constitutes action, not essence. But the one who loves ought not only to wish someone well with a mere word, but also to work together to meet their needs. But "bless those who curse you" and "pray for those who spite you and persecute you" is not present in other copies. Fervently pray, therefore, for your enemies, repaying them in this way, by not associating with them while they abide in wickedness.

In this portion of commentary, Peter explains how and why one ought to fulfill the command of loving one's neighbor, based not on their actions but on their nature as human beings. Loving includes charitable actions, not just speech. He mentions in passing that two of the clauses are absent from some MSS, but he does not discuss them further or offer exegesis of them. Peter reiterates that even tax collectors love their friends, so the perfect love of God is to love one's enemy.

Matthew 5:45

14. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 20.17(15) [20.143-145]

(See Additional Texts.)

Matthew 6:1

15. Apollinaris, *Fr. Matt.* 26; or Origen, *Fr. Matt.* 113

1: ἐλεημοσύνην L W Z Θ f^{13} 33 𝔐 f k $sy^{p.h}$ mae

2: δικαιοσύνην ℵ$^{*.2}$ B D 0250 f^{1} 892 *pc* lat [NA]

Ἐν ἄλλοις τὴν δικαιοσύνην φησὶν οὕτως τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην καλῶν. σκοπὸν δὲ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης προτίθησιν ἡμῖν τὴν παρὰ θεῷ δόξαν, οὐ τὴν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις· οἷς γάρ τις ἀρέσκειν βούλεται, παρὰ τούτων μισθὸν ἔχει τὸν ἔπαινον. οὐ μὴν ὁ θεαθεὶς ἤδη πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι πεποίηκεν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενος καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν. (Reuss, 8; attributed to Apollinaris)

Ἐν ἄλλοις ἀντιγράφοις τὴν δικαιοσύνην φησί. σκοπὸν δὲ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης προτίθησιν ἡμῖν τὴν παρὰ θεῷ δόξαν, οὐ τὴν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις· οἷς γάρ τις ἀρέσκειν βούλεται, παρὰ τούτων μισθὸν ἔχει τὸν ἔπαινον. οὐ μὴν ὁ θεαθεὶς ἤδη πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι πεποίηκεν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενος καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν. (GCS, Or 12.3:61; attributed to Origen)

In other (copies) it says "righteousness," (thus referring to alms). But the goal of alms he sets before us is honor from God, not honor from humans; for those whom someone wishes to please, from them he receives praise as his "reward." Not the one who is truly noticed, but the one who wishes to be noticed and does this, has already acted "in order to be noticed."

In this scholion, the variant is mentioned in passing, followed by an exegesis of the verse that treats "alms" as the proper reading. In the Reuss edition, the author goes so far as to explicitly equate the two variants, thereby finding the same meaning through either reading.

Matthew 6:4

16. Augustine, *Serm. Dom.* 2.9

1: palam [ἐν τῷ φανερῷ] L W Θ 0250 𝔐 it sy[s.p.h]

2: *omit* ℵ B D Z *f*[1.13] 33 *al* aur ff[1] k vg sy[c] co; Or [NA, UBS, Metzger]

SIT ergo ELEMOSINA TVA IN ABSCONDITO, ET PATER TVVS, QVI VIDET IN ABSCONDITO, REDDET TIBI. Rectissime omnino et uerissime. Si enim praemium ab eo expectas qui conscientiae solus inspector est, sufficiat tibi ad promerendum praemium ipsa conscientia!

Multa Latina exemplaria sic habent: ET PATER TVVS, QVI VIDET IN ABSCONDITO, REDDET TIBI PALAM. Sed quia in Graecis, quae priora sunt, non inuenimus palam, non putauimus hinc esse aliquid disserendum. (CCSL 35:100)

> *Let,* therefore, *your alms be done in secret, and your Father who sees in secret will reward you* [Matt 6:4]. This is right and true in every way. For if you expect a reward from him who alone is the searcher of conscience, let your conscience itself suffice you for meriting a reward!
>
> Many Latin copies have this reading: "And your Father who sees in secret will reward you publicly." But because we have not found the word "publicly" in the Greek copies, which are earlier, we have not thought that anything needed to be said about it here. (Cardman)[9]

In his commentary on this verse, Augustine particularly focuses on acting in secret, giving alms, and the reward due. After thoroughly discussing the verse, he mentions only in passing that the Latin copies include "publicly." Since, however, the Greek copies, which omit the phrase, are older and take priority over the Latin, the variant is not worth discussing. Augustine then turns to his discussion of the next verse.

Matthew 6:13

17. Peter of Laodicea, *Comm. Matt.* 6:9-13

1: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις . . . ἀμήν L W Θ 0233 *f*[13] 33 𝔐 f g[1] k q sy sa bo[pt]; Didache

2: *omit* ℵ B D Z 0170 *f*[1] *l* 2211 *pc* lat mae bo[pt]; Or [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> ὁ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πάλῃ νικῶν καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλειπόμενος οὐκ εἰσέρχεται εἰς πειρασμόν. πειρασμὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἧττα καὶ ἡ ἀπο τοῦ διαβόλου πλάνη· ὁ δὲ μὴ εἰσελθὼν εἰς δίκτυα πειρασμοῦ ἐρρύσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. πονηρός δέ ἐστιν ὁ διάβολος οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσει· οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἐκ φύσεως ἐστὶν ἡ πονηρία, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτεξιουσίου κακίας καὶ πονηρίας γίνεται· κατ' ἐξοχὴν δὲ οὗτος καλεῖται διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κακίας. τὸ δὲ ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἔν τισιν οὐ κεῖται μέχρι τοῦ ἀμήν. (Heinrici, 63)
>
> For the one who prevails in the battle and is not left behind does not enter "into temptation." For temptation is the defeat and deception from the devil; but the one who does not enter into nets of temptation is delivered "from the evil one."

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[9] *The Preaching of Augustine: "Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount*" (trans. F. Cardman; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973), 102

> But the devil is the evil one not by nature, but by choice; for evil is not intrinsic in nature, but evolves out of the wickedness and evil of one's own power; but this one is prominently named on account of the excess of his wickedness. But "for yours is the kingdom and the power" up to the "amen" is not present in some copies.

In his commentary on the Lord's prayer, Peter discusses each portion of the prayer, closing with his reflections on "the evil one." He then mentions in passing that the ending is shorter in some MSS, offering only the beginning and end (so that the exact wording of his lemma is not preserved). After this, Peter continues his commentary with Matt 6:14-15.

Matthew 6:25

18. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 6:25

1: *omit* ℵ *f*^{1} 892. *l* 2211 *pc* a b ff^{1} k l vg sy^{c} sa^{mss}

2: neque quid bibatis [ἢ τί πίητε] B W *f*^{13} 33 *al* it sa^{mss} mae bo; Or Hier^{mss} [cf. καὶ τί

πίητε L Θ 0233 𝔐 sy$^{p.h}$] [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> **Ne solliciti sitis animae uestrae, quid manducetis neque corpori uestro quid induamini.** In nonnullis codicibus additum est: neque quid bibatis. Ergo quod omnibus natura tribuit et iumentis ac bestiis hominibusque commune est, huius cura penitus liberamur. Sed praecipitur nobis ne solliciti simus quid comedamus quia in sudore uultus praeparamus nobis panem. Labor exercendus est, sollicitudo tollenda. Hoc quod dicitur: *Ne solliciti sitis animae uestrae quid comedatis neque corpori uestro quid induamini*, de carnali cibo et uestimento accipiamus. Ceterum de spiritalibus cibis et uestimentis semper debemus esse solliciti. (SC 242:136)

> *"Do not be anxious for your life, what you should eat, nor for your body, what you should wear."* In several manuscripts it is added: "nor what you should drink." Therefore, we should be entirely free from concern for what nature has bestowed upon all, and what is common to domestic animals, wild beasts, and human beings. But we are commanded not to be anxious about what we consume, because we prepare bread for ourselves by the sweat of our face [cf. Gen 3:19]. Labor must be spent, but anxiety is taken away. As for the words: "Do not be anxious for your life, what you should eat, nor for your body, what you should wear," we should understand this of carnal food and clothing. On the other hand,

> we should always be anxiously concerned about spiritual food and clothing. (FC 117:91)

Going through the commentary verse by verse, Jerome first cites the lemma for v. 25a and mentions in passing that some MSS have an additional clause. He then proceeds to explain the verse, that we will be freed from the concerns of all living beings, the basic physical needs. When he repeats the elements of the verse, Jerome includes only food and clothing, not drink (from the variant). He emphasizes, however, that we should be concerned about spiritual sustenance. He continues with one more sentence of commentary on the next line in the verse, that the one who provided the greater things will also provide the lesser things, and then he passes on to v. 26.

Matthew 7:24

19. Euthymius Zigabenus, *Comm. on the Gospels*, Matt 7:24

1: ὁμοιῶσω C L W 𝕸 f h k q sy$^{c.h}$ bo; Cyp

2: ὁμοιωθήσεται ℵ B Z Θ 0281 *f*$^{(1).13}$ 33. 700. 892. 1241. *l* 844 *al* ff^{1} l vg sy$^{p.hmg}$ sa mae;

> Or Did [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> Πᾶς — φρονιμῳ. ᾿Απαρτίσας τὴν διδασκαλίαν, λοιπὸν παραθαῤῥύνει τοὺς μαθητὰς, εἰς τὸ βαδίσαι τὴν στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην ὁδὸν, ὑπισχνοῦμενος γινέσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀρκοῦσαν ἀσφάλειαν, τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ. Πᾶς, φησίν, ὁ ἀκούων μου τοῦς λόγους τούτους, ἤτοι τὰς ἐντολὰς, ἃς ἐπέταξα. Τινὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀντιγράφων, ῾Ομοιωθήσεται γράφουσι. Καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ὁμοιῶσω· Χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς αὐτοῦ βοηθείας, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν κατορθοῖ. Εἶτα τίθησι καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ φρονίμου. (PG 129:273, 276)

> "Everyone . . . wise man." After he had completed the teaching, he further encouraged the disciples to walk the straight and narrow road [Matt 7:14], promising it would be sufficient security for them, keeping his commandments. "Everyone," he says, "who hears these words of mine," referring to the commandments that he gave. Then some of the copies write "will be compared to." Or, appropriately, "I will compare" also occurs. For apart from his help, no one succeeds at anything. Next he puts forth the deeds of the wise man.

Proceeding through his commentary clause by clause, Euthymius explains that this parable is comparing the one who does the commands Jesus has just given, namely to walk the straight and narrow (v. 14), to the wise man. Euthymius notes that the text reads "will be compared" but offers the variant "I will compare," finding the first person appropriate because nothing is possible apart from Jesus. He then sets up the rest of the verse, remarking that the text proceeds by explaining what the wise man did, and then he turns to the next clause and continues the commentary, identifying the rock with the security of following the commandments.

Matthew 8:28 (// Mark 5:1; Luke 8:26)

20. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 5.35.6

1: Γαδαρηνῶν B C (Δ) Θ *al* sy$^{s.p.h}$; Epiph [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: Γεργεσηνῶν ℵ^{2} L W *f*$^{1.13}$ 𝔐 (sy^{hmg}) bo; Epiph^{mss}

> εἶτα πάλιν »ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γεργεσθᾶν«, ὡς ὁ Μάρκος λέγει, ἢ »ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν«, ὡς ὁ Λουκᾶς φησιν, ἢ »Γαδαρηνῶν«, ὡς ὁ Ματθαῖος, ἢ Γεργεσηνῶν, ὡς ἀντίγραφά τινα ἔχει (τῶν γὰρ τριῶν κλήρων ὁ τόπος ἀνὰ μέσον ἦν). . . . (GCS, Epi 3:74)
>
> Then again "He came to the parts of Gergestha," as Mark says—or, "in the coasts of the Gergesenes," as Luke says; or "of the Gadarenes," as in Matthew, or "of the Gergesenes" as some copies [of Matthew] have it. (The spot was in between the three territories.) (Williams, 2:256)

In this chapter, Epiphanius is arguing against the teachings of Mani, specifically that all living things have an equal soul or life force. To counter this, Epiphanius sets out to show that Jesus did not treat animals as equal to humans, of which the account of Jesus casting demons into pigs and sending them to their demise is a perfect example. As he begins recounting the story, he notes the different locations listed in each of the

Synoptics, plus a variant in Matthew. He offers as explanation for the variety (but not necessarily the variant) that the actual location was somewhere in the middle of the three. After this parenthetical remark, Epiphanius continues with a paraphrase of the Matthean version of the account, and then the Markan version.

21. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.41(24) [6.208-211]

1: Γεργεσηνῶν Matt[10]: ℵ^{2} L W *f*$^{1.13}$ 𝔐 (sy^{hmg}) bo; Epiph^{mss}; Mark: ℵ^{2} L Δ Θ *f*^{1} 28. 33. 565. 579. 700. 892. 1241. 1424. 2542 *al* sy^{s} bo; Luke: ℵ L Θ Ξ *f*^{1} 33. 579. 700*. 1241 *pc* (bo); Epiph

2: Γερασηνῶν Matt: 892c latt sy^{hmg} sa mae; Mark: ℵ* B D 2427^{vid} latt sa [NA, UBS, Metzger]; Luke: 𝔓^{75} B D latt sy^{hmg} (sa) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

3: Γαδαρηνῶν Matt: B C (Δ) Θ *al* sy$^{s.p.h}$; Epiph [NA, UBS, Metzger]; Mark: A C *f*^{13} 𝔐 sy$^{p.h}$; Luke: A W Ψ *f*^{13} 𝔐 sy

> Τὸ μέντοι γε ἡμαρτῆσθαι ἐν τοῖς ῾Ελληνικοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τὰ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἄν τις πεισθείη ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις. ἡ περὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων κατακρημνιζομένους καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ συμπνιγομένους χοίρους οἰκονομία ἀναγέγραπται γεγονέναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Γερασηνῶν. Γέρασα δὲ τῆς ᾿Αραβίας ἐστὶν πόλις, οὔτε θάλασσαν οὔτε λίμνην πλησίον ἔχουσα. καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὕτως προφανὲς ψεῦδος καὶ εὐέλεγκτον οἱ εὐαγγελισταὶ εἰρήκεισαν, ἄνδρες ἐπιμελῶς γινώσκοντες τὰ περὶ τὴν ᾿Ιουδαίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ὀλίγοις εὕρομεν· »Εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν« καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο λεκτέον. Γάδαρα γὰρ πόλις μέν ἐστιν τῆς ᾿Ιουδαίας, περὶ ἣν τὰ διαβόητα θερμὰ τυγχάνει, λίμνη δὲ κρημνοῖς παρακειμένη οὐδαμῶς ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῇ <ἢ> θάλασσα. ἀλλὰ Γέργεσα, ἀφ᾿ ἧς οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι, πόλις ἀρχαία περὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Τιβερίαδα λίμνην, περὶ ἣν κρημνὸς παρακείμενος τῇ λίμνῃ, ἀφ᾿ οὗ δείκνυται τοὺς χοίρους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καταβεβλῆσθαι. ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ ἡ Γέργεσα ›παροικία ἐκβεβληκότων‹, ἐπώνυμος οὖσα τάχα προφητικῶς οὗ περὶ τὸν σωτῆρα πεποιήκασιν

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[10] Note that while Origen does mention MSS, he does not specify which variant is found in which Gospel. It is possible that Origen is simply discussing a lack of Synoptic harmonization, but his mention of MSS and the immediately preceding commentary on the variant in John 1:28 both suggest that this is a textual rather than exegetical issue. Therefore, the evidence for all three Gospels is included here.

παρακαλέσαντες αὐτὸν μεταβῆναι ἐκ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν οἱ τῶν χοίρων πολῖται. (GCS, Or 4:150)

Yet, regarding proper names, there are errors in many places in the Greek copies and from these someone might be misled in the Gospels. The account of the pigs cast down by the demons and choked in the sea is recorded to be in the country of the Gerasenes. But Gerasa is a city of Arabia, having neither a sea nor a lake nearby, and thus the evangelists, men attentively learned in all things Jewish, would not have said something clearly false and easy to refute. But since in a few copies we find "into the country of the Gadarenes," this must also be addressed. For Gadara is a city of the Jews, near which are famous hot springs, but it has no lake with adjacent cliffs or a sea. But Gergesa, from which Gergesenes derives, is an ancient city near the lake now called Tiberias, near which there is a cliff lying next to the lake, from which it can be shown that the pigs were cast down by the demons. But Gergesa is interpreted "dwelling of those who cast out," which is perhaps a prophetic nickname for how the citizens who owned the pigs acted toward the Savior, encouraging him to cross over their borders.

Origen is discussing proper names, their meanings, and the accuracy of their transmission in Greek and Hebrew MSS. After addressing the variants in John 1:28, he then cites this Synoptic account as another example. In both instances, he is greatly concerned with the accuracy of the geography and the meaning of the names, which serve as the basis for his textual preference. Following this discussion, he moves on to names in the Hebrew and Greek versions of the OT.

22. Titus of Bostra, *Fr. Luc.* 8:26

1: Γεργεσηνῶν ℵ L Θ Ξ f^1 33. 579. 700*. 1241 *pc* (bo); Epiph

2: Γαδαρηνῶν A W Ψ f^{13} 𝔐 sy

3: Γερασηνῶν 𝔓^{75} B D latt sy^{hmg} (sa) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

Οὔτε Γαδαρηνῶν, οὔτε Γερασηνῶν τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἔχει τῶν ἀντιγράφων, ἀλλὰ Γεργεσηνῶν. *Γάδαρα γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, λίμνη δὲ κρημνοῖς παρακειμένη οὐδαμῶς ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ θάλασσα. Γέρασα δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐστὶ πόλις οὔτε θάλασσαν οὔτε λίμνην πλησίον ἔχουσα. καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὕτω ψεῦδος εὐέλεγκτον οἱ εὐαγγελισταὶ εἰρήκασιν ἄνδρες ἐπιμελῶς γινώσκοντες τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Γέργεσα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἀφ' ἧς οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι, πόλις ἀρχαία*

περὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Τιβεριάδα λίμνην, περὶ ἣν κρημνὸς παρακείμενος τῇ λίμνῃ, ἀφ' οὗ δείκνυται τοὺς χοίρους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καταβεβλῆσθαι. ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ ἡ Γέργεσα παροικία ἐκβεβληκότων ἐπώνυμος οὖσα τάχα προφητικῶς οὗ περὶ τὸν σωτῆρα πεποιήκασι παρακαλέσαντες αὐτὸν μεταβῆναι ἐκ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν οἱ τῶν χοίρων πολῖται,[11] ὥστε συνᾴδει τὸ ὄνομα τῷ· ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ῥητῶς καὶ κατὰ ἀναγωγήν. πλὴν ἐπεὶ ἡ Γάδαρα ὅμορός ἐστι τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν, εἰκός ἐστιν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν τούτων χώραν ἐλαθῆναι τοὺς χοίρους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων. καὶ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐδεὶς τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν διαψεύδεται· ὃ μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν, ὅθεν ἦσαν οἱ χοῖροι, ὃ δέ, ὅθεν πεπτώκασιν. (Sickenberger)[12]

Neither "of the Gadarenes," nor "of the Gerasenes" do the accurate copies have, but "of the Gergesenes." "For Gadara is a city of the Jews, near which are famous hot springs, but it has no lake with adjacent cliffs or a sea. But Gergesa, from which Gergesenes derives, is an ancient city near the lake now called Tiberias, near which there is a cliff lying next to the lake, from which it can be shown that the pigs were cast down by the demons. But Gergesa is interpreted 'dwelling of those who cast out,' which is perhaps a prophetic nickname for how the citizens who owned the pigs acted toward the Savior, encouraging him to cross over their borders," so that the name agrees with: "they asked him to depart from them" [Luke 8:37], both directly and by putting to sea. Indeed, since Gadara borders the country of the Gergesenes, it is likely from that place the pigs were driven into their country by the demons. And if it stands thus, none of the evangelists is mistaken; for one reading is the place from which the pigs came, and the other is the place where they fell.

This commentary attributed to Titus duplicates much of Origen's explanation of the same array of variants in the Matthean parallel (see §21, above). Beyond the quoted material, Titus continues on to justify the diverse readings in the Gospels, neatly explaining how the geography of the region allows more than one reading to be true, to show that regardless of diversity among the original readings, the evangelists themselves were not in error.[13] Preserved as a scholion, there is no further context to this passage.

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[11] The italicized text (not a feature of Sickenberger's edition [see next note]) indicates an unattributed quotation of Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.41(24) [6.208-211] (see §21, above).

[12] J. Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien* (TU 21; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901), 176.

[13] Sickenberger notes that this geographical evaluation could also be adopted from Origen ("Es ist gut möglich, dass Titus diese geographischen Angaben aus Origen herübernahm" [*Titus von Bostra,* 177]).

Matthew 10:3

23. Augustine, *Cons.* 2.70

1: Thaddeum [Θαδδαῖος] ℵ B f^{13} 892. *l* 2211 *pc* lat co [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: Lebdeum [Λεββαῖος] D k μ; Or^{lat}

> in nominibus ergo discipulorum Lucas, qui eos alio nomine nominat, cum prius eliguntur in monte, a Mattheo non discrepat nisi in nomine Iudae Iacobi, quem Mattheus Thaddeum appellat, nonnulli autem codices habent Lebdeum. quis autem umquam prohibuerit duobus uel tribus nominibus hominem unum uocari? (CSEL 43:175)
>
> Moreover, with regard to the names of the disciples, Luke, who gives their names in another place,—that is to say, in the earlier passage, where they are [represented as being] chosen on the mountain,—is not at variance in any respect with Matthew, with the exception of the single instance of the name of Judas the brother of James, whom Matthew designates Thaddæus, although some codices also read Lebbæus. But who would ever think of denying that one man may be known under two or three names? (NPNF 1.6:137)

Augustine is discussing the placement among the Synoptic Gospels of the account about the sending out of the disciples, then he briefly comments on the names in the list of disciples. He notes that Luke and Matthew have essentially identical lists, except for a variant on the name Thaddaeus that appears in some copies of Matthew. But Augustine quickly glosses over this difference because he does not find it problematic for one person to be known by more than one name. He then passes on to the next question, the issue of whether or not Jesus told his disciples to take a staff with them on their journeys.

Matthew 11:19 (cf. Luke 7:35)

24. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 11:19

1: a filiis [ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων] B^{2} C D L Θ f^{1} 33 𝔐 lat sy$^{s.c.hmg}$ sa^{mss} mae

2: ab operibus [ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων] ℵ B* W *pc* sy$^{p.h}$ sa^{ms} bo; Hier^{mss} [NA, UBS, Metzger]

Ergo quia uos noluistis utramque recipere disciplinam, *iustificata est sapientia a filiis suis,* id est Dei dispensatio atque doctrina, et ego qui sum Dei uirtus et Dei sapientia, iuste fecisse ab apostolis meis filiis comprobatus sum, quibus reuelauit Pater quae a sapientibus absconderat et prudentibus apud semet ipsos. In quibusdam euangeliis legitur: *Iustificata est sapientia ab operibus suis.* Sapientia quippe non quaerit uocis testimonium sed operum. (SC 242:226)

Therefore, because you were unwilling to receive either discipline, "wisdom"—that is, the dispensation and doctrine of God—"is justified by her children." And it is I who am the power of God and the wisdom of God [cf. 1 Cor 1:24]. I have been approved as one who has acted justly by the apostles, my children, to whom the Father revealed things that he had hidden from those who are wise and prudent among themselves. In some Gospels it reads: "Wisdom is justified by her works." Indeed, wisdom does not seek the testimony of words but of deeds. (FC 117:134)

Jerome is discussing Matt 11:16-19, particularly the children calling out in the marketplace (v. 16) and the reaction of the Jewish people. He rejects an allegorical interpretation of the passage and therefore seeks a more literal understanding applying to the "children" of that generation (based on Isa 8:18; Pss 19:7; 8:2). Jerome paraphrases vv. 18-19: they rejected John, who did not eat and drink, and they rejected Jesus, who did eat and drink. Since they rejected both ways of life, both abstinence and excess, then Jesus, as the Wisdom of God, is justified by his "children" the apostles. Jerome adds that some Gospels read "works" instead of "children," which may be a reference either to the textual variant or to the Lukan parallel. He briefly offers an exegesis of "works" and then moves on to Matt 11:20.

Matthew 11:23

25. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 11:23

1: numquid usque in caelum exaltaueris [μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ] א B* D W Θ lat sy^{c} co (B^{2} L ἥ, C f^{1} του ου.); Ir^{lat} [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: quae usque in caelum exaltata es [ἣ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθεῖσα] f^{13} 33 𝔐 f h q

sy$^{s.p.h}$; Hier^{ms} (cf. ὑψώθης Γ f^{13} 700 *al* f g^1 q)[14]

> **Et tu Capharnaum numquid usque in caelum exaltaueris? usque in infernum descendens.** In altero exemplari repperimus: *Et tu Capharnaum quae usque in caelum exaltata es, usque ad inferna descendes,* et est duplex intellegentia: uel ideo ad inferna descendes quia contra praedicationem meam superbissime restitisti, uel ideo quia exaltata usque ad caelum meo hospitio et meis signis atque uirtutibus, tantum habens priuilegium, maioribus plecteris suppliciis quod his quoque credere noluisti. (SC 242:228)

> *"And you, Capernaum, will you be exalted up to heaven? You will descend into the nether world."* In another copy we have found: "And you Capernaum, *you who have been exalted up to heaven*, you will descend to the nether world." There is a twofold understanding: either you will descend to the nether world because with supreme arrogance you resisted my preaching, or, since by my hospitality and my signs and miracles you have been exalted up to heaven, having had such a great privilege, you will be struck with greater punishments, because you were unwilling to believe even in these. (FC 117:135)

Discussing Jesus's woes against various cities, Jerome gives the lemma for the first half of v. 23 and then mentions the variant reading. He explains what each variant would mean, the only essential difference being the precise reason for Capernaum's punishment. Without expressing which is the better reading, Jerome passes on to the rest of v. 23, discussing the fate of Sodom and the parallel with Tyre and Sidon.

[14] Note that the UBS^4 apparatus includes Jerome with this latter reading (ὑψώθης).

Matthew 13:35[15]

26. Eusebius, *Comm. Ps.* 77

1: *omit* ℵ[1] B C D L W 0233. 0242 𝔐 lat sy co; Eus [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: Ἡσαΐου ℵ* Θ *f*[1.13] 33 *pc*; Hier[mss]

> Ταῦτα δ'ἐπιλύεται τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν ᾧ εἴρηται· *Ταῦτα πάντα ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν παραβολαῖς τοῖς ὄχλοις, καὶ χωρὶς παραβολῆς οὐκ ἐλάλει αὐτοις· ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου· ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς.* Διὰ ποίου δὲ προφήτου ταῦτα εἴρητο ἢ διὰ τοῦ προκειμένου Ἀσάφ; Ὃ μὴ συνιέντες τινὲς, προσέθηκαν ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ τὸ, *διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου·* ἐν δέ γε τοῖς ἀκριβέσιν ἀντιγράφοις ἄνευ τῆς προσθήκης τῆς *διὰ Ἡσαΐου*, ἁπλῶς οὕτως εἴρηται· *Ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου· ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς,* ἃ δὴ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις, οὐ μὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου προφητείᾳ. (PG 23:901)
>
> But the Gospel explains these things, in which it says: "Jesus spoke all these things to the crowds in parables, and he was not speaking to them except by parable; so that what was spoken through the prophet might be fulfilled, saying, 'I will open my mouth in parables; I will proclaim what has been hidden from the foundation [of the world].'" But through what prophet were these things spoken, or was it through the Asaph lying before us? What some do not understand is the explanation set forth in the Gospel, namely, "through Isaiah the prophet"; but indeed, in the accurate copies, lacking the explanation "through Isaiah," it simply says: "so that what was spoken through the prophet might be fulfilled, saying, 'I will open my mouth in parables; I will proclaim what has been hidden from the foundation [of the world],'" which indeed is contained in the present text, not in the prophecy of Isaiah.

In this commentary on Psalm 77 (LXX), Eusebius pauses to address the quotation of v. 2 in Matthew that is introduced with the phrase "spoken through the prophet." He dismisses the confusion over how the prophet could be "Isaiah," as some read in the

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[15] A marginal note in 1582 cites one more reference, which may be from Origen. It was not included as a separate entry here because the note appears to be a paraphrase rather than a quotation, so the source's exact wording is uncertain. The note mentions that in Book 1 of a commentary on Proverbs (no author is given), the author recalls that the reading "Isaiah" is not found among the MSS (οὕτως μνημονεύει τὴς χρήσεως ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς μὴ λέγων εἶναι ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις διαφωνίαν). For the full note and a discussion, see K. W. Kim, "Codices 1582, 1739, and Origen," *JBL* 69 (1950): 171-72; and A. S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 63-64.

Gospel, if the quote was from a psalm of Asaph by asserting that the most accurate MSS lack this interpolation. Eusebius does not dwell on the role of Asaph as the speaker or prophet here; he does cite the Matthew quotation again as he compares the versional readings of the Ps 77:2, but it is without the introductory formula.

27. Jerome, *Hom.* 11 on Psalm 77 (78 Eng) [Origen?][16]

1: [Asaph] Ἀσάφ Hier^mss

2: [Esaiam] Ἡσαΐου (see above)

> Dicitur ergo in Matthaeo 'Haec, inquit, facta sunt, ut impleretur quod scriptum est in Asaph propheta'. Sic inuenitur in omnibus ueteribus codicibus, sed homines ignorantes tulerunt illud. Denique multa euangelia usque hodie ita habent 'Vt impleretur quod scriptum est per Esaiam prophetam: Aperiam in parabola os meum, eloquar propositiones ab initio'. Hoc Esaias non loquitur, sed Asaph. Denique et inpius ille Porphyrius proponit aduersum nos hoc ipsum, et dicit: 'Euangelista uester Matthaeus tam inperitus fuit, ut diceret, quod scriptum est in Esaia propheta, Aperiam in parabola os meum, eloquar propositiones ab initio'. . . . Sicut enim ibi error fuit scriptorum, sic et hic error fuit scriptorum, ut pro Asaph Esaiam scriberent. Nescientes enim (quia prima ecclesia de inperitis congregata fuit gentibus) ergo cum legerent in euangelio 'Vt impleretur quod scriptum est in Asaph propheta' ille qui primus scribebat euangelium coepit dicere: Quis est iste Asaph propheta? Non erat notus in populo. Et quid fecit? ut dum errorem emendaret, fecit errorem. (CCSL 78:66-67)
>
> Consequently, Matthew says: "All these things were done in fulfillment of what was spoken through the prophet Asaph." This is the reading found in all the ancient copies, but people in their ignorance changed it. As a result, to this day many versions of the Gospel read: "In fulfillment of what was spoken through the

[16] Although Jerome's homilies on the Psalms were long attributed to his own authorship, more recently it has been suggested that these are Jerome's translation of Origen's homilies (see V. Peri, *Omelie origeniane sui Salmi: contributo all'identificazione del testo latino* [Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolic vaticana, 1980]; G. Coppa, *74 omelie sul libro dei Salmi* [Torino: Paoline, 1993], 11-32). Either way, it is clear from Jerome's other work that he was often dependent on earlier writers such as Origen or Eusebius and paraphrased or quoted their material. On the other hand, it is also clear that Jerome felt free to amend or add his own comments as warranted, particularly where it concerned variants (for examples of his dependence or additions, see §57 [Mark 16:9ff.] and §153 [Eph 5:14], below). Therefore, regardless of the initial authorship of these homilies, it may be difficult to discern whether Origen or Jerome was originally responsible for taking note of the variants. The mention of Porphyry in *Hom.* 11, and the general negative attitude toward scribes, suggest that Jerome at least contributed his own opinions here, although it is possible this was prompted by some initial discussion of variants by Origen.

> prophet Isaiah, 'I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter mysteries from of old.'" This is not the utterance of Isaiah, but of Asaph.
>
> Indeed, Porphyry, that unbeliever, makes this very point in his attack upon us and says, "Your evangelist, Matthew, was so ignorant that he said: 'What is written in Isaiah the prophet: I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter mysteries from of old.'" . . . Now, just as this was the scribes' error, it was, likewise, their error to write Isaiah instead of Asaph. Hence, when the inexperienced (because the early church was a congregation of ignorant peoples) were reading in the Gospel: "In fulfillment of what was written in Asaph the prophet," the one who first transcribed the Gospel began to ask: Who is this Asaph the prophet? He was not known to the people. And what did the scribe do? While emending an error, he made an error. (FC 48:81-82 [modified])

In discussing Psalm 77 (LXX), the homilist is justifying his more allegorical reading of this psalm in relation to Christ, and he quotes from Matt 22:29 that those err who do not know the Scriptures. He then examines a series of scribal errors that appear to be discrepancies in the text of the Gospels but are instead errors on the part of scribes who were ignorant of the Scriptures. The first example is that while the oldest MSS read "Asaph," others read "Isaiah" (although, cf. Jerome's discussion in the *Commentary on Matthew* [§28, below]). The homilist therefore assumes that "Asaph" is the predominant and oldest reading but the variation "Isaiah" crept into some additional (and more recent) copies. Jerome notes that Porphyry is familiar with the variant and has used that in his polemics against the veracity of Scripture. The homily openly admits that there are other such problem texts. First discussed is Mark 15:25 (Matt 27:45//John 19:14 [§95]; this discussion is sandwiched between his comments on Matt 13:35) and then Matt 27:9 (§43). The homilist attributes all of these apparent discrepancies to an error on the part of ignorant scribes, but this discussion is just an aside, as he then returns to his exposition of the psalm.

28. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 13:35

1: *omit* (see above)

2: [Esaiam] Ἡσαΐου

> **Vt impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem: Aperiam in parabolis os meum; eructabo abscondita a constitutione mundi.** Hoc testimonium de septuagesimo septimo psalmo sumptum est. Legi in nonnullis codicibus, et studiosus lector id ipsum forte reperiat, in eo loco ubi nos posuimus et uulgata habet editio: *Vt impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem*, ibi scriptum: per Esaiam prophetam dicentem. Quod quia minime inueniebatur in Esaia, arbitror postea a prudentibus uiris esse sublatum. Sed mihi uidetur in principio ita editum, quod scriptum est: per Asaph prophetam dicentem (septuagesimus septimus enim psalmus, de quo hoc sumptum est testimonium, Asaph prophetae titulo inscribitur) et primum scriptorem non intellexisse Asaph et putasse scriptoris uitium atque emendasse nomen Esaiae, cuius uocabulum manifestius erat. Sciendum est itaque quod in psalmis et hymnis et canticis Dei non solum Dauid sed et ceteri quorum praescripta sunt nomina prophetae sint appellandi, Asaph uidelicet et Idithon et Aeman Ezraites et Aetham et filii Chore et reliqui quos scriptura commemorat. (SC 242:284)
>
> *"In order that what was spoken through the prophet might be fulfilled, saying: "I shall open my mouth in parables; I will utter things hidden since the foundation of the world."* This testimony is taken from the seventy-seventh Psalm [Ps 78:2]. I have read in several manuscripts, and a diligent reader would perhaps be able to find it, that in place of this passage that we have recorded and that the vulgate edition has as: "in order that what was spoken through the prophet might be fulifilled, saying," in those manuscripts it is written as: "through Isaiah the prophet, saying." Because the text is not at all found in Isaiah, I think it was later removed by prudent men. In my judgment, it was originally published as follows: "[in order that what was written] through Asaph the prophet, saying." For the seventy-seventh Psalm, from which this testimony was taken, is ascribed to Asaph the prophet in the title. And it seems that, because the first copyist did not understand "Asaph," he thought that it was a mistake of a copyist, and he changed the name to Isaiah, whose name was more familiar. And so one should be aware that in the Psalms and hymns and canticles of God, not only David but also other men whose names are prefixed deserve to be called prophets. This applies to men like Asaph, Idithon [or Jeduthun; 1 Chr 25:1-8; Pss 39, 62, 77], Aeman the Ezrahite [1 Kgs 4:31; 1 Chr 25:1-8; Ps 88], Aetham [or Ethan; 1 Kgs 4:31; Ps 89], the sons of Korah [Pss 42, 44-49, 84, 85, 87, 88], and the rest whom Scripture mentions. (FC 117:160-61)

After a very brief treatment of Matt 13:34, Jerome turns to v. 35, concerned first of all with the obvious textual problem of who the "prophet" is who spoke this psalm. He

is aware of the reading that indicates Isaiah as the prophet and conjectures what the original reading was (Asaph) and why the reading "Isaiah" was emended by some scribes (who did not recognize the name Asaph) and then deleted later by others to correct the error. Jerome especially emphasizes that his conjectured original reading, "Asaph," is theologically correct because David was not the only prophetic voice listed in Psalms. Jerome then turns to the rest of v. 35, the text of the psalm, and explains how it sets up first of all the content of the psalm (that the history narrated throughout should be interpreted as a parable) and secondarily the application as words spoken by the Savior. After this, Jerome continues with v. 36.

Matthew 16:2b-3

29. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 16:2-3

1: *include* C D L W Θ f^1 33 𝔐 latt $sy^{p.h}$ bo^{pt}; Eus [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: *omit* א B X Γ f^{13} 579 *al* $sy^{s.c}$ sa mae bo^{pt}; Or $Hier^{mss}$

> **At ille respondens aitelis: Facto uespere dicitis: Serenum erit, rubicundum est enim caelum; et mane: Hodie tempestas, rutilat enim triste caelum. Faciem ergo caeli iudicare nostis, signa autem temporum non potestis.** Hoc in plerisque codicibus non habetur, sensusque manifestus est quod ex elementorum ordine atque constantia possint et sereni et pluuiae dies praenosci; scribae autem et Pharisaei, qui uidebantur legis esse doctores, ex prophetarum uaticinio non potuerunt intellegere Saluatoris aduentum. (SC 242:340)
>
> *But he answered and said to them: "When evening comes, you say: 'It will be fair, for the sky is red'; and in the morning: 'Today there will be a storm, for the sky is red and threatening.' You know, then, how to judge the appearance of the sky, but you are unable to judge the signs of the times."* This is not found in the majority of manuscripts, and the sense is clear, that from the arrangement and constancy of the elements, both fair and rainy days can be forecast. But the scribes and Pharisees, who seemed to be teachers of the Law, were unable to understand the advent of the Savior from the predictions of the prophets. (FC 117:186)

As he begins his commentary on Matthew 16, Jerome quotes vv. 2-3, then notes that these verses are lacking from most copies. However, he offers an exegesis of the verses, that the scribes and Pharisees, despite their training, could not read the signs of the times. Jerome does not explain whether the verses should be accepted in the text or not, but simply passes on to vv. 4-5 and 6, for which he makes very brief comments as he carries on with the chapter.

Matthew 16:20

30. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 12.15

1: διεστείλατο ℵ B^2 C L W Θ $f^{1.13}$ 𝔐 lat $sy^{p.h}$ co; Or^{mss} [NA]

2: ἐπετίμησεν B* D e sy^c; Or^{mss}

> ὁ μὲν οὖν Ματθαῖος πεποίηκε κατά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὸ τότε διεστείλατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ εἴπωσιν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ δὲ Μᾶρκος »ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς« φησιν »ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσι περὶ αὐτοῦ«, ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς »ἐπιτιμήσας« φησὶν »αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλε μηδενὶ λέγειν τοῦτο« – τί δὲ »τοῦτο« ἢ ὅτι καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος εἶπε (πρὸς τὸ »τίνα με λέγετε εἶναι«;)· »τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ«. ἰστέον μέντοι ὅτι τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἔχει τὸ ἐπετίμησεν. (GCS, Or 10:103)
>
> Therefore Matthew wrote, according to some of the copies, "Then he commanded the disciples to tell no one that he is the Christ," but Mark says, "he ordered them to speak to no one concerning him," and Luke says, "he ordered and instructed them to speak this to no one"—but what is "this"? Or was it because, also according to him, Peter answered and said (in response to "who do you say that I am?"), "the Christ of God." Indeed, know that some of the copies of the Gospel of Matthew have "he ordered."

Origen is concerned with the difficulty that Jesus's injunction against confessing that he is the Christ poses for the mission to preach the gospel. Beginning with Matthew, Origen then lays out the parallels in Mark and Luke, followed by a comment that some MSS of Matthew also have a variant (which agrees with the Synoptic parallels). After

this brief mention, Origen continues with his discussion of the larger dilemma of distinguishing between the basic knowledge that Jesus is the messiah and belief in the truth of the gospel.

Matthew 18:1

31. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 13.14

1: ἡμέρᾳ Θ *f*[1] 33. 700. 1424 *pc* it sy[s.c]; Or[mss]

2: ὥρᾳ (majority of witnesses) [NA]

> Δυνάμενος ὁ Ματθαῖος ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς, τί τε προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠξίουν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν πῶς τε ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸ πύσμα αὐτῶν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον διηγήσασθαι, ὁ δὲ προσέθηκε κατὰ μέν τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων· ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ προσῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλα· ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μὴ ἀνεξέταστον ἐᾶσαι τὸ βούλημα τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ. διόπερ ἐπιστήσαντες τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ὥρᾳ, σκοπήσωμεν εἰ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων ὁδὸν λαβεῖν πρὸς τὸ θεωρῆσαι ὡς ἀναγκαίαν τὴν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ὥρᾳ προσθήκην. (GCS, Or 10:213-14)
>
> So that we might be taught both what the disciples approached Jesus to ask to learn from him and how he responded to their inquiry, Matthew, who could have described only this itself, added, according to some of the copies: "in that hour the disciples came to Jesus," but according to others: "in that day." And it is necessary that the intention of the evangelist not be left unexamined. Wherefore having given attention to what precedes "in that hour" or "day," let us consider whether there is such a way to take a meaning from those words to view as necessary the addition "in that day" or "hour."

Origen is discussing the disciples' question about who is the greatest in the kingdom and pauses first to acknowledge the variant. As he proceeds to explain the text, however, he simply offers both readings without choosing between the two.[17] His

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[17] In the Greek text of Origen's *Commentary*, the lemma has "day," while in the Latin translation (presented in a parallel column by Klostermann), the lemma has "hour." Both versions, however, include this discussion of the variant, and both retain the same ambiguity that presents the readings as equal alternatives.

concern is how the phrase itself impacts the text, not which version of it is correct. He therefore proceeds to examine the close temporal connection between this verse and the preceding pericope (about taxes and the coin in the fish's mouth).

Matthew 19:19

32. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 15.14

(See Additional Texts.)

Matthew 21:5

33. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 16.14

1: υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: νέον[18] f^{1}

3: ὑποζυγίου $\aleph^{1}$ L Z *pc*

> ἔτι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου <κεῖται· »καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον> καὶ πῶλον νέον« ἢ ὡς ἔν τισι »πῶλον ὑποζυγίου«. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀντὶ τοῦ »ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον <καὶ πῶλον νέον>« πεποίηκε· »καθήμενος ἔρχεται ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου«· ὅστις ἐμφαίνων ὅτι γνώσεως δεῖται τὸ κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ἐπιφέρει τὸ »ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρότερον«. (GCS, Or 10:522)

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[18] See Swanson; this variant is not listed in NA. Since there has been some editorial reconstruction here, it is questionable whether Origen is attesting this variant. E. Hautsch (*Die Evangelienzitate des Origenes* [TU 34; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909], 72-73) suggests that the phrase καὶ πῶλον νέον was intended as a marginal note completing the following quotation of Zech (for comparison with John), since this very phrase was lacking, but the marginal note was then misplaced in the text. He also surmises that a scribe skipped over part of the text (homoiteleuton), thereby merging the first text of Zechariah that Origen was citing and the following text of Matthew; Hautsch thus reconstructs: ἔτι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ »καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ < ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον« ἐξέθετο ὁ Ματθαῖος τὸ »καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ > ὄνον καὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου« ἢ ὡς ἔν τισι »πῶλον ὑποζυγίου«. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀντὶ τοῦ »ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον« πεποίηκε· »καθήμενος ἔρχεται ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου«. Hautsch's explanation is not provable but plausible and brings these lines into parallel with the structure of the preceding lines.

> But yet in place of “and mounted on an ass and a colt, the foal of a donkey” <lies, “and mounted on an ass> and a young colt,” or as in some [copies], “colt of a donkey.” But John, in place of “mounted on a donkey <and a young colt>” [Zech 9:9] has, “he is coming, seated upon a colt of an ass” [John 12:15]; who, indicating that there is need for understanding concerning the passage, adds “but these things his disciples did not understand at first.”

Origen is comparing Zech 9:9 with the quotations of it in Matthew and John, clause by clause. For each clause, he cites verbatim the Zechariah passage first, then compares the Gospel quotation (see n. 18, where Hautsch reconstructs a similar structure for the discussion of the variant). When citing the final line of the Matthean version of the quote, Origen notes that there is a variant. Rather than explain the significance of the variant or compare it with Zechariah, he proceeds with John and then launches into an exegesis of the Zechariah text in an NT context.

Matthew 21:9

34. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 16.19

(See Additional Texts.)

Matthew 21:9, 15

35. Origen, *Comm. Ps.* 8

1: υἱῷ [cf. NA]

2: οἴκῳ (no extant variants)[19]

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[19] In the Coptic version of *Didache* 10.6, ὡσαννὰ τῷ οἴκῳ Δαυίδ is attested, but it is not clear whether this supports a known variant in Matthew. Cf. J.-P. Audet, *La Didaché: Instructions des Apôtres* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1958), 62-67, 420-21; B. M. Metzger, “Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts,” in *Biblical and Patristic Studies: In Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; New York: Herder, 1963), 92.

Ζητήσεις δὲ, πότερον ταὐτόν ἐστιν οἶκος Δαυὶδ, καὶ υἱὸς Δαυίδ. Καὶ εἰ μὴ ταὐτόν ἐστιν, ἡμάρτηται τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον γραφικῶς, ὄφειλον ἔχειν ἤτοι δὶς τῷ οἴκῳ Δαυὶδ, ἤτοι τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ. (Lommatzsch)[20]

But you inquire whether "house of David" and "son of David" are the same. And if they are not the same, the Gospel according to Matthew is in error scribally, and ought to have twice either "to the house of David," or "to the son of David."

As he comments on Psalm 8, Origen points out the quotation in Matt 21:16, then he turns to the quotation of Psalm 118 in Matt 21:9, 15 that provides a context for the citation of Psalm 8. Although Origen twice notes "son of David" as the text in Matthew, he seems to suggest that he is aware of copies of Matthew that read "house of David" in one of the two verses and "son of David" in the other. He asserts that any such copy has a scribal error because the text should read the same in both places. After this, Origen returns to Psalm 8 and continues with his exegesis of the next passage.

Matthew 21:31

36. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 21:28-32

1: nouissimus [ὁ ὕστερος] B Θ f^{13} 700 *al* (lat) sa^{mss} bo; $Hier^{mss}$

2: primum [ὁ πρῶτος] (א) C L W (Z) 0102. 0281 f^{1} 33 𝔐 f q vg^{ww} $sy^{p.h}$ sa^{mss} mae; $Hier^{mss}$ [NA, UBS, Metzger][21]

Porro quod sequitur: **Quis ex duobus fecit uoluntatem patris?** et illi dicunt: **nouissimus,** sciendum est in ueris exemplaribus non haberi nouissimum sed primum, ut proprio iudicio condemnentur. Si autem nouissimum uoluerimus legere, manifesta est interpretatio: ut dicamus intellegere quidem ueritatem

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[20] *Origenis opera omnia* (ed. C. H. E. Lommatzsch; 25 vols.; Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1831-48), 12:16.

[21] The witnesses for this complex variant are far more complicated than this simplistic presentation (see the apparatuses of NA^{27} and UBS^{4}, and the helpful explanation in B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1994), 44-46. However, the only part of the passage that Jerome refers to specifically as a variant is this one phrase from v. 31.

> Iudaeos sed tergiuersari et nolle dicere quod sentient, sicut et baptismum Iohannis scientes esse de caelo dicere noluerunt. (SC 259:128)

> One should know that with respect to what follows: “Which of the two did the father’s will? And they said: ‘the last,’” the authentic copies do not have “the last” but “the first.” Thus they are condemned by their own judgment. Now if we want to read “the last,” the interpretation is plain. We would say that the Jews indeed understand the truth, but they are evasive and do not want to say what they think. In the same way they also know that John’s baptism is from heaven, but they were unwilling to say so. (FC 117:243-44)

Jerome is discussing Jesus’s parable of the two sons, which follows the question about the source of John’s baptism. Jerome first interprets the two sons as the Gentiles and the Jews, but then says that some people interpret them instead as sinners and the righteous, as Jesus indicates later by mentioning tax collectors and prostitutes. These sinners repent, but the Pharisees, who say they are righteous, repudiate John’s baptism. At the end of the discussion, Jerome notes the textual problem in this passage; his description reflects but a part of the convoluted textual history of this pericope. His lemma reads that the first son refused to do the father’s will and then obeyed, while the second agreed to do it but then did not. As Jerome cites v. 31, in his lemma the Jews reply that the second son did the father’s will. Jerome is aware that other copies read the opposite, that they answered, “the first.” Although he shows preference for the MSS that read “the first” (the “authentic” copies), he still explains both variants in the context. If they answered “the first,” then the Jews were condemned by their own answer. If they answered “the second,” then they were condemned by their own lie, just as in vv. 25-27 they refused to speak the truth about John the Baptist. After this, Jerome turns to his commentary on v. 33 and the parable there.

Matthew 24:19

37. Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 43

(See Additional Texts.)

Matthew 24:36

38. Ambrose, *Fid.* 5.16.193

1: nec filius [οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός] ℵ^{*,2} B D Θ f^{13} *l* 2211 *pc* it vg^{mss}; Ir^{lat} Hier^{mss} [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: *omit* ℵ^{1} L W f^{1} 33 𝔐 g^{1} l vg sy co; Hier^{mss}

> ‘Scriptum est, inquiunt: *De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli caelorum nec filius, nisi pater solus*.’ Primum veteres non habent codices graeci quia *nec filius* scit. Sed non mirum, si et hoc falsarunt, qui scripturas interpolavere divinas. Qua ratione autem videatur adiectum, proditur cum ad interpraetationem tanti sacrilegi dirivatur. (CSEL 78:289)

> It is written, they say: “But of that day and that hour no one knows, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only.” First of all the ancient Greek manuscripts do not contain the words, “neither the Son (knows).” But it is not to be wondered at if they who have interpolated the sacred Scriptures have also falsified this passage. The reason for which it seems to have been inserted is perfectly plain, so long as it is applied to unfold such blasphemy. (NPNF 2.10:308 [modified])

Against the Arians, Ambrose argues for the omnipotence of Christ, first asking whether they might have modified this passage to their own ends. He refers to the authority of the Greek MSS, which, to his knowledge, omit the phrase in question. However, he then proceeds to assume the originality of this reading and explains how it could be properly understood. Since the title “son” encompasses both Son of God and Son of Man, the statement can apply to the Son of Man, or Christ’s human nature. Only insofar as Jesus was Son of Man could he be thus ignorant, for the Son of God knows all.

39. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 24:36

1: neque filius [οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός] (see above)

2: *omit*

> **De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli caelorum, nisi Pater solus.** In quibusdam latinis codicibus additum est: *neque filius:* cum in graecis et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus hoc non habeatur ascriptum, sed quia in non nullis legitur, disserendum uidetur. (SC 259:202, 204)
>
> *"But of that day and hour, no one knows, neither the angels of heaven, save only the Father alone."* In some Latin manuscripts is added: "nor the Son," though in the Greek copies, and especially those of Adamantius [i.e., Origen] and of Pierius, this addition is not found. Yet because it is read in some, it seems necessary to discuss it. (FC 117:277-78)

After only brief comments on Matt 24:30-35, Jerome launches into a much longer discussion of v. 36. He cites the lemma and adds that some Latin MSS also contain the phrase "nor the Son." Even though a number of Greek copies, as well as Origen and Pierius, do not contain the addition, Jerome feels he must address it because its inclusion in some Greek copies has caused the heretics, most notably Arius and Eunomius, to use this phrase in their arguments. Jerome uses scriptural citations from John 1:3 and Matt 11:27 to argue that Christ knows all things, and moreover that he has knowledge of greater things so he would not be ignorant of what is lesser. However, while Jerome says that he has adequately defended the knowledge of the Son, he must still explain how the text could say that the Son's knowledge is limited. To do so, Jerome appeals to Col 2:3, that knowledge is hidden in Christ, and to Acts 1:7, where Jesus instructs his followers that they are not to know the times that the Father has established. Having sufficiently argued this point, Jerome passes on to vv. 37-38.

Matthew 26:63//Mark 14:61

40. Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 118

(See Additional Texts.)

Matthew 27:9[22]

41. Augustine, *Cons.* 3.29

1: Hieremia [᾿Ιερεμίου] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: *omit* Φ 33 a b $sy^{s.p}$ bo^{ms}

> Si quis autem mouetur, quod hoc testimonium non inuenitur in scriptura Hieremiae prophetae, et ideo putat fidei euangelistae aliquid derogandum, primo nouerit non omnes codices euangeliorum habere, quod per Hieremiam dictum sit, sed tantummodo per prophetam. possemus ergo dicere his potius codicibus esse credendum, qui Hieremiae nomen non habent. dictum est enim hoc per prophetam, sed Zachariam, unde putatur codices esse mendosos, qui habent nomen Hieremiae, quia uel Zachariae habere debuerunt uel nullius, sicut quidam, sed tamen per prophetam dicentem, qui utique intellegitur Zacharias. sed utatur ista defensione cui placet; mihi autem cur non placeat, haec causa est, quia et plures codices habent Hieremiae nomen et qui diligentius in Graecis exemplaribus euangelium considerauerunt in antiquioribus Graecis ita se perhibent inuenisse. nulla fuit causa, cur adderetur hoc nomen, ut mendositas fieret; cur autem de nonnullis codicibus tolleretur, fuit utique causa, ut hoc audax imperitia faceret, cum turbaretur quaestione, quod hoc testimonium aput Hieremiam non inueniretur. (CSEL 43:304-5)

> Now, if any one finds a difficulty in the circumstance that this passage is not found in the writings of the prophet Jeremiah, and thinks that damage is thus done to the veracity of the evangelist, let him first take notice of the fact that this ascription of the passage to Jeremiah is not contained in all the codices of the Gospels, and that some of them state simply that it was spoken "*by the prophet.*" It is possible, therefore, to affirm that those codices deserve rather to be followed which do not contain the name of Jeremiah. For these words were certainly spoken by a prophet, only that prophet was Zechariah. In this way the supposition

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[22] Augustine is the only author discussing this variant who actually attests two different readings in the MSS. The other authors conjecture an original reading of Zechariah and discuss a potential scribal error here, but not differences in the MSS. Some of this evidence therefore would be better relegated to the Additional Texts, but they have been retained in the Catalogue to keep the related discussions together in one location.

> is, that those codices are faulty which contain the name of Jeremiah, because they ought either to have given the name of Zechariah or to have mentioned no name at all, as is the case with a certain copy, merely stating that it was spoken "*by the prophet, saying,*" which prophet would assuredly be understood to be Zechariah. However, let others adopt this method of defence, if they are so minded. For my part, I am not satisfied with it; and the reason is, that a majority of codices contain the name of Jeremiah, and that those critics who have studied the Gospel with more than usual care in the Greek copies, report that they have found it stand so in the more ancient Greek exemplars. I look also to this further consideration, namely, that there was no reason why this name should have been added [subsequently to the true text], and a corruption thus created; whereas there was certainly an intelligible reason for erasing the name from so many of the codices. For venturesome inexperience might readily have done that, when perplexed with the problem presented by the fact that this passage could not be found in Jeremiah. (NPNF 1.6:190)

Augustine is comparing the various Gospels at this point in the Passion narrative. He quotes the story of Judas's fate, which is told only by Matthew. Augustine then comments on the difficulty some might find with the fact that the citation attributed to Jeremiah is actually from Zechariah. He considers first the variant that omits the name of the prophet, then determines that this is likely a secondary reading, and thus he must still explain why Matthew would write the wrong name. Augustine suggests that Matthew was inspired by the Holy Spirit to include this discrepancy as evidence that all of the prophets speak as one prophetic voice, so that the words of Zechariah, through the same Spirit, are equally the words of Jeremiah. His second suggestion is that the quotation is a conflation of passages from both prophetic books, so the reference to Jeremiah points the reader who would think of the silver from Zechariah to also think of the purchased field in Jeremiah.

42. Eusebius, *Dem. ev.* 10.4.13

1*: Ζαχαρίου 22 sy^{hmg}

2: ᾿Ιερεμίου (see above)

> ἔνθα καὶ ἐπιστήσεις, ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα φέρεται ἐν τῇ τοῦ ῾Ιερεμίου προφητείᾳ, εἴτε χρὴ ὑπονοεῖν περιῃρῆσθαι αὐτὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς κατά τινα ῥᾳδιουργίαν, ἢ καὶ σφάλμα γραφικὸν γεγονέναι, τῶν ἀμελέστερον τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων ἀντίγραφα πεποιημένων σφαλέντος τινὸς καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Ζαχαρίου ῾Ιερεμίαν τεθεικότος, ὡς δέον οὕτως ἀναγεγράφθαι· τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ »καὶ ἐνέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον« ἐσφαλμένως πεποιηκότος· »καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως.« (GCS, Eus 6:463)

> But as this passage is not found in the prophecy of Jeremiah, you must consider whether it is to be supposed that they have been removed through any evil intention, or whether there has been an error in copying, through the mistake of some careless transcriber of the Holy Gospels, who wrote Jeremiah instead of Zechariah, where he ought to have copied, “Then was fulfilled that which was written by Zechariah the prophet,” and instead of, “And they cast them into the house of the Lord, into the furnace,” wrote in error, “And they bought with them the field of the potter.” (Ferrar)[23]

Eusebius is discussing the betrayal of Judas and the quotation from Zech 11:13 in the different versions of the OT (whether it should read “into the furnace” or “to the potter”). He quotes Matt 27:3-10 and then comments that the passage is not found in Jeremiah, as the text reads, and speculates that it may be a scribal error. Eusebius includes with this error the reading “furnace” as opposed to “potter.” He continues with this point, discussing whether the House of God is being compared to a furnace or to a potter.

[23] Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel* (trans. W. J. Ferrar; 2 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1920), 2:208-9.

43. Jerome, *Hom.* 11 on Psalm 77 (78 Eng) [Origen?][24]

1*: Zacharia [Ζαχαρίου] (see above)[25]

2: Hieremia [᾿Ιερεμίου]

> Dicamus aliquid simile, et in alio loco in euangelio secundum Matthaeum, quando Iudas retulit triginta argenteos, et noluerunt accipere sacerdotes nec mittere in corbanan, quoniam erat pretium sanguinis: et emerunt inde agrum figuli in sepulturam peregrinorum. Pretium Xpisti [sic] sepultura nostra est: et uocatur ager ille Acheldemach, quod est ager sanguinis. Sanguinis ager Iudaeorum, sed nostra sepultura est. Nos enim peregrini fuimus et aduenae, non habebamus ubi requiescere. Ille crucifixus est et mortuus, et nos cum illo consepulti sumus. Vt conpleretur, inquit, quod scriptum est in Hieremia propheta. Retulit, inquit, triginta argenteos, pretium quod scriptum est, et cetera. Sicut scriptum est, inquit, in Hieremia propheta. Hoc in Matthaeo scriptum est. Requisiuimus in Hieremia, hoc penitus inuenire non potuimus: sed inuenimus illud in Zacharia. Videtis ergo, quia et hic error fuit, sicut ibi. (CCSL 78:67)
>
> Let us take another example from Matthew's Gospel. When Judas brought back the thirty pieces of silver and the chief priests would neither accept the money nor put it into the treasury because it was the price of blood, they bought with the money a potter's field as the burial place for strangers. The price of Christ is our burial place and the field is called Haceldama, that is, the Field of Blood—the field of the blood of the Jews, but our burial place, for we were strangers and foreigners, and had no place to rest. He was crucified and died, and we were buried together with him. Now Matthew says that this was done in fulfillment of the prophecy of Jeremiah, namely, that Judas brought back the thirty pieces of silver, the price that is written, and so on. Just as it is written, Matthew says, in Jeremiah the prophet. That is what is written in Matthew and we have searched through Jeremiah again and again and cannot find this reference at all. We have, however, located it in Zachariah. You see, therefore, that this was an error similar to the one described above. (FC 48:82-83 [modified])

This is a continuation of the homily's discussion of Matt 13:35 and John 19:14//Mark 15:25. In discussing the quotation of Ps 77:2 (LXX) by Matthew (13:35), the homilist explains that the apparent discrepancy here is due to a scribal error because

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[24] See above, §27, n. 16.

[25] Since the homily does not explicitly refer to a variant, it could be implying that the original text either read "Zechariah" or omitted a name altogether (as in copies of Matt 13:35, as referred to in Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew* [see §28, above], although in that text he only notes the variants "Asaph" and "Isaiah"). Since here it is stated that "Jeremiah" is a scribal error, what is clear is that the homilist believes something other than this was the original reading.

of scribes (especially in the earliest church) who were ignorant of the Scriptures. He then goes on to mention similar problems in the text of the Gospels, first at John 19:14 and Mark 15:25 on the hour of the crucifixion, then at Matt 27:9 regarding the attribution of the quote to Jeremiah. The context is explained first, that of Judas returning his blood money to the priests and their purchase of the potter's field. The homily then detours into a brief exegesis before returning to the point about the discrepancy, stating that no such citation is found in Jeremiah but one has been located in Zechariah. Rather than reiterating the explanation for the variation, the same cause is assigned as in the previous discussion: an error on the part of ignorant scribes. As in the previous example on John and Mark, no variants are specified but they are implied since the homilist assumes that Matthew's original copy had the correct reading and the variation emerged in later copies. After this final example in Matthew, the text passes on from this discussion and returns to the exposition of Psalm 77.

44. Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 27:9-10

(no variants)[26]

> **Tunc impletum est quod dictum est per Hieremiam prophetam dicentem: Et acceperunt triginta argenteos, pretium adpretiati quem adpretiauerunt a filiis Israhel, et dederunt eos in agrum figuli, sicut constituit mihi Dominus.** Hoc testimonium in Hieremia non inuenitur; in Zacharia uero, qui paene ultimus duodecim prophetarum est, quaedam similitudo fertur, et quamquam sensus non multum discrepet, tamen et ordo et uerba diuersa sunt. Legi nuper, in quodam hebraico uolumine quem Nazarenae sectae mihi Hebraeus obtulit, Hieremiae apocryphum, in quo haec ad uerbum scripta repperi. Sed tamen mihi uidetur magis de Zacharia sumptum testimonium, euangelistarum et apostolorum more

[26] This excerpt arguably belongs in the Additional Texts instead of the Catalogue. However, Jerome's mention of a secret or apocryphal book of Jeremiah is interesting in light of Origen's comments, so I have opted to retain Jerome's commentary here.

> uulgato, qui uerborum ordine praetermisso, sensus tantum de ueteri testamento proferunt in exemplum. (SC 259:276, 278)

> *Then was fulfilled what was spoken through Jeremiah the prophet, saying: "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him on whom a price had been set by the sons of Israel, and they gave them for a potter's field, just as the Lord appointed for me."* This testimony is not found in Jeremiah. Something similar is recorded in Zechariah, who is nearly the last of the twelve prophets. Yet both the order and the wording are different, although the sense is not that discordant. Recently I read something in a certain little Hebrew book that a Hebrew from the Nazarene sect brought to me. It was an apocryphon of Jeremiah in which I found this text written word for word. Yet it still seems more likely to me that the testimony was taken from Zechariah by a common practice of the evangelists and apostles. In citation they bring out only the sense from the Old Testament. They tend to neglect the order of the words. (FC 117:310)

Going through Matthew 27 to comment on every few verses, Jerome briefly discusses v. 7 and then skips down to vv. 9-10. He explains that despite the attribution to Jeremiah, the citation instead appears to come from Zechariah. Jerome also mentions a copy of apocryphal Jeremiah that does contain the citation verbatim (cf. Origen, §45). However, Jerome holds that the quote more likely derives from the OT, especially in light of the tendency of the NT writers to paraphrase. After this, he offers no further comments on these verses and moves on to v. 11 and then v. 13.

45. Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 117

1*: Zacharia [Ζαχαρίου] (see above)

2: Hieremia [Ἰερεμίου]

> Sed quoniam quod post haec dicit evangelista (*tunc inpletum est quod dictum fuerat per Hieremiam prophetam dicentem* quae scripta sunt), non invenitur hoc Hieremias alicubi prophetasse in libris suis qui vel in ecclesiis leguntur vel apud Iudaeos referuntur—si quis autem potest scire, ostendat ubi sit scriptum. suspicor autem aut errorem esse scripturae et pro Zacharia positum Hieremiam, aut esse aliquam secretam Hieremiae scripturam, in qua scribitur. (GCS, Or 11:249)

> But since what the evangelist says after these things ("Then was fulfilled what was spoken by the prophet Jeremiah, saying" which things are written), this is not

found to be prophesied by Jeremiah anywhere in their books, either those read in the churches or those referred to in the writings of the Jews—let anyone, then, who understands explain where it might be written. I suspect that either Jeremiah was written in place of Zechariah as a scribal error, or that it is written in a secret text of Jeremiah.

In this extended commentary fragment, Origen is discussing the context of Matt 27:9 and pauses to explain why the text says "Jeremiah" when the quote seems not to come from that OT book. Origen proposes that the wrong ascription either is due to a scribal error (writing "Jeremiah" for "Zechariah") or derives from another text of Jeremiah, such as a secret or apocryphal book. He cites Zech 11:12-13 to show the likely scriptural source. For the notion that a secret saying of Jeremiah could be quoted, he appeals to Paul in 1 Cor 2:9, which is possibly referring to the secrets of Elijah, and 2 Tim 3:8, which refers to a secret book of Jamnes and Mambres.[27]

Matthew 27:17

46. Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 121

1:᾽Ιησοῦν τὸν Βαραββᾶν *f*^{1} *pc* sy^{s}; Or^{mss} (᾽Ιησοῦν Βαραββᾶν Θ 700* *pc*; Or^{lat})

[NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: Βαραββᾶν ℵ A D L W *f*^{13} 33 𝔐 latt sy$^{p.h}$ co; (Or$^{lat\ mss}$) (τὸν Βαραββᾶν B *pc*; Or)

In multis exemplaribus non continetur quod *Barabbas* etiam *Iesus* dicebatur, et forsitan recte, ut ne nomen Iesu conveniat alicui iniquorum. (GCS, Or 11:255)

In many copies it is not included that Barabbas is also called Jesus, and perhaps rightly, as the name of Jesus is not suitable for someone sinful.

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[27] Origen says concerning whether the text in Matthew is found in "the secrets of Jeremiah": "si autem hoc dicens aliquis aestimat se offendere, videat ne alicubi in secretis Hieremiae hoc prophetetur . . . " (If, however, anyone is offended by this statement, let him see this is not prophesied anywhere in the secrets of Jeremiah). Origen therefore does not appear to be aware of any such place where the quotation from Matthew may be found, but Jerome claims that he has seen such an apocryphal text and found the exact quote (see §44, above).

παλαιοῖς δὲ πάνυ ἀντιγράφοις ἐντυχὼν εὗρον καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Βαραββᾶν Ἰησοῦν λεγόμενον. οὕτως γοῦν εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ Πιλάτου πεῦσις ἐκεῖ· »τίνα θέλετε τῶν δύο ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν, Ἰησοῦν τὸν Βαραββᾶν ἢ Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν;« (GCS, Or 11:255)[28]

But in many old copies I have encountered, I found also Barabbas himself called Jesus. For thus the question of Pilate reads there, "Which of the two do you want me to release for you, Jesus Barabbas or Jesus who is called the Christ?"

In the Latin text, to continue the discussion of Pilate and Barabbas, a lemma for Matt 27:16-18 is cited that includes the reading "Jesus Barabbas." The author then prefaces the commentary on this passage with a passing note that many MSS refer only to "Barabbas." The speculation is added that perhaps this is the better reading since the name "Jesus" is not appropriate for a sinner like Barabbas. The parallel Greek scholion assumes a lemma that omits "Jesus" from Barabbas but points to this as an alternate reading, stating that most of the oldest copies include the fuller name. The scholion then cites the full question with the variant reading but offers no explanation for which reading is preferable. In the Latin version, the commentary continues with this idea of names, referring to multiple Judases as an example, then returning to specifically address Barabbas.

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[28] GCS lists this as "*Π* 323, 4 (vgl. Or. C[1] Nr. 314) An." (*Π* = anonymous excerpts in the commentary of Peter of Laodicea, ed. Heinrici, 1908 [see Peter of Laodicea, §47, below]; C[1] = catena on the Gospels (TU 47.2 [1931]). Tischendorf (1:195, v. 17) attributes the scholion to either Anastasius of Antioch or John Chrysostom, prefacing the quote with: "Scholion codicis s et aliorum[20] fere, quod plerumque Anastasii episc. Antioch. dicitur, alibi Chrysostomi (at is nihil eiusmodi in comm. ad h. 1), sic habet in ipso codice s. . . ." He continues the quote: ωσ γαρ εοικεν πατρωνυμια του ληστου ην ο βαραββασ, οπερ ερμηνευεται διδασκαλου υιοσ (cf. Peter of Laodicea on Matt 27:16-17 [§47]). Metzger explains that this quote appears in "a tenth century uncial manuscript (S) and in about twenty minuscule manuscripts. . . . This scholium, which is usually assigned in the manuscripts either to Anastasius bishop of Antioch (perhaps latter part of the sixth century) or to Chrysostom, is in one manuscript attributed to Origen, who may indeed be its ultimate source" (*Textual Commentary*, 56).

47. Peter of Laodicea, *Comm. Matt.* 27:15-18

1: Βαραββᾶν (see above)

2: Ἰησοῦν τὸν Βαραββᾶν

> Εἰκὸς ἄρτι ὑποσπόνδων γενομένων Ῥωμαίοις Ἰουδαίων ᾤοντο τὸν κεχαρισμένον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ συγχωρεῖσθαι. ὡς νομίζων δὲ ὅτι τὸν ἀναίτιον ἢ τὸν μυρίοις ἐγκλήμασιν ὑπεύθυνον αἰτήσονται εἶπε τοῦτο ὁ Πιλᾶτος· ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι οὐδένα σαφῆ ἔλεγχον εἶχον κατ' αὐτοῦ. *παλαιοῖς δὲ πάνυ ἀντιγράφοις ἐντυχὼν εὗρον καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Βαραββᾶν Ἰησοῦν λεγόμενον. οὕτως γοῦν εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ Πιλάτου πεῦσις ἐκεῖ· τίνα θέλετε τῶν δύω ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν, Ἰησοῦν τὸν Βαραββᾶν ἢ Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν;*[29] ὡς γὰρ ἔοικε, πατρωνυμία τοῦ λῃστοῦ ἦν ὁ Βαραββᾶς, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται διδασκάλου υἱός. συντιθέμενον οὖν τὸ τοῦ Βαραββᾶ ὄνομα σημαίνει υἱὸς τοῦ διδασκάλου ἡμῶν. καὶ τίνος ἄρα διδασκάλου υἱὸν χρὴ νομίζειν τὸν ἐπίσημον λῃστήν; ἢ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῶν αἱμάτων, τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωποκτόνου, ὃν καὶ μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο μᾶλλον αἱροῦνται οἱ μαθόντες παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωποκτονεῖν, ἢ τὸν ζωοποιοῦντα τοὺς νεκροὺς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν; (Heinrici, 323)
>
> It is likely since the Jews were presently under the control of the Romans, they were expecting the favor offered to them during the festival to be granted. But Pilate said this since he thought that they were requesting either the innocent one or the one accountable for countless charges; for he knew that they had no clear evidence against him. But in many old copies I have encountered, I found also Barabbas himself called "Jesus." For thus the question of Pilate reads there, "Which of the two do you want me to release for you, Jesus Barabbas or Jesus who is called the Christ?" For as it seems, Barabbas was the patronym of the thief, which is interpreted the son of the teacher. Therefore the name of Barabbas put together indicates the son of our teacher. So then what teacher should the notorious thief be considered the son of? The man of blood, the first murderer, from whom even until now the pupils more and more grasp how to murder, or the one giving life to the dead, Jesus Christ?

After Matt 27:14, Peter turns to the next three verses (15-18) and discusses first Pilate's motivation for offering to release a prisoner (the Jews were expecting it, and he thought they would release the innocent man, which would relieve him from

[29] The italicized text (not a feature of Heinrici's edition) indicates a quoted scholion, included above under Origen on Matt 27:16-17 (§46). According to Tischendorf, the sentence that follows is also part of the scholion (see previous note). Since the quotation fits well into Peter's context and is not clearly marked, it begs the question how much of the surrounding paragraph also belongs to the original author (possibly Origen).

responsibility in the matter). Implying a lemma that reads “Barabbas,” it is then noted (anonymously quoting a previous commentator) that older MSS read “Jesus Barabbas.” The name is then parsed out as meaning “son of the teacher,” and the meaning of this name as applied to Barabbas is discussed. No further comment is made on the variant. After this, the commentary passes on to vv. 19-23, leaving Barabbas behind and returning to Pilate.

Mark 1:2

48. Eusebius, *Supp. qu. Marin.* 2

(See Additional Texts.)

Mark 2:14 (cf. Mark 3:18)

49. Origen, *Fr. Matt.* 194

1: Λευί ℵ* A K Γ Δ 28. 33. 2542 *pm* aur q vg^{cl} co? [Λευίν 𝔓^{88} ℵ^{2} B C L W 1. 579. 700. 892. 1241. 1424. 2427. *l* 2211 *pm* f l vgst]

2: ᾿Ιάκωβον D Θ f^{13} 565 *pc* it [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> ἔν τισι δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Μᾶρκον εὐαγγελίου εὑρίσκεται »᾿Ιάκωβον τὸν τοῦ ᾿Αλφαίου« < ἀντὶ τοῦ »Λευὶ τὸν τοῦ ᾿Αλφαίου« >· κατ᾿ αὐτὸν τὸν Μᾶρκον μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ παραλυτικοῦ »παράγων εἶδε Λευὶ τὸν τοῦ ᾿Αλφαίου καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον«. ἔοικεν οὖν διώνυμος εἶναι. ἐσημειώσατο δὲ ἐπιτηδείως τῶν ἀποστόλων τὰ ὀνόματα, ἵνα μηδενὶ πεισθῶμεν ἑτέρῳ παρὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους. (GCS, Or 12.3:93)
>
> But in some copies of the Gospel of Mark is found “James, son of Alphaeus” <in place of “Levi, son of Alphaeus”>; according to Mark himself, after the healing of the paralytic, “passing by, he saw Levi, son of Alphaeus, sitting at the tax booth.” Therefore it seems like there are two names. But the names of the apostles are carefully indicated, lest we be misled to any other by the things mentioned.

In this scholion on Matt 10:2-4, Origen compares the lists of disciples in the Synoptics, listing first the names found in Luke 6:14-16, then the names found in Mark 3:16-19, including James, son of Alphaeus. He deems it necessary to mention the name Levi, son of Alphaeus, often confused with James, son of Alphaeus, as is apparent in the variant reading in some copies of Mark. Origen explains that two different names are given so that the reader will not mistake Levi for yet another apostle. He then goes on to discuss the order of the names, pointing out that they are not named in order of rank, and the duplicates among them.

Mark 3:18 (cf. Mark 2:14)

50. Origen, *Cels.* 1.62

1: Θαδδαῖον (majority of witnesses)

2: Λεββαῖον D it [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> ἔστω δὲ καὶ ὁ Λευὴς τελώνης ἀκολουθήσας τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἀλλ᾽ οὔτι γε τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ἦν εἰ μὴ κατά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου. (GCS, Or 1:113)
>
> And Levi who followed Jesus may also have been a tax collector; but he was certainly not among the number of his apostles, except according to some copies of the Gospel of Mark.

In refutation of Celsus's claim that Jesus gathered around him tax collectors and sailors, Origen argues that of the twelve apostles, only Matthew was a tax collector. He grants that Levi the tax collector may have been a follower of Jesus, but he was not one of the twelve, which is only attested in some MSS of Mark. Origen does not quote a specific verse to defend his case and clearly has in mind the same issue discussed in the scholion on Matthew (see above), so it is possible that the variant he is referring to is actually the one in Mark 2:14.

Mark 6:8

51. Apollinaris, *Fr. Matt.* 46

1a: εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον (majority of witnesses)

2a: μήτε ῥάβδον (+μόνον Θ 565)[30]

1b: ἀλλὰ ὑποδεδεμένους (majority of witnesses)

2b: μήτε ὑποδεδεμένους Θ 788

> ̓Ελευθέρους γὰρ πάντη καὶ ἀφρόντιδας ἀποδεῖξαι <τοὺς> τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διακόνους βούλομαι μηδεμιᾷ σώματος ἕνεκα μερίμνῃ ταπεινουμένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖός φησιν καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς »μήτε ὑποδήματα« »μήτε« ἱμάτιον »μηδὲ ῥάβδον«, ὃ δοκεῖ πάντων εὐτελέστατον εἶναι λαβεῖν, »εἰς ὁδὸν« ἔλησθε. ὁ δ□ Μᾶρκος »ῥάβδον« δοκεῖ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς λαμβάνειν καὶ »ὑποδεδέσθαι σανδάλια« ἔν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων. ἐν ἄλλοις γάρ φησιν, ὅτι »παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδὲν αἴρωσιν εἰς ὁδόν«, μήτε »ῥάβδον« μήτε »πήραν« μήτε »ἄρτον« μήτε »εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκὸν« μήτε »ὑποδεδεμένους <σανδάλια>«. (Reuss, 13-14)
>
> For I wish to show that the ministers of the gospel were entirely free and heedless, humbling themselves, with no thought given to the body. Matthew says, along with Luke, "neither sandals nor garment nor staff," which seems to be the cheapest of all to take, "take along the way." But Mark, in some copies, seems to command them to take a staff and to wear sandals. For in other copies, it says, "He charged them to take nothing on the way, neither a staff, nor a bag, nor bread, nor money in their belts, nor to wear sandals."

In this scholion, Apollinaris consults the Synoptic versions to elucidate the faith and asceticism of the disciples, according to Jesus's instructions. He finds Matthew and Luke in agreement, along with some copies of Mark, but he also notes a variant tradition

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[30] See Swanson. These variants do not appear in NA. Apollinaris attests a further variant in this passage but does not comment on it: the transposed arrangement of μήτε πήραν, μήτε ἄρτον (D 565 [μὴ . . . μὴ . . . A K M N S U W *f*[1] *f*[13] 2 28 157 700 1071 1424 𝔐]; most other MSS read μὴ ἄρτον, μὴ πήραν, as in NA and UBS). It is interesting to note that the variant Apollinaris refers to as appearing in multiple copies (ἄλλοις [ἀντιγράφοις]) is now considered extremely rare, extant only in Θ (with a similar reading in 565).

in Mark, where the disciples are permitted to carry at least a staff and sandals to facilitate the journey.

Mark 8:10

52. Augustine, *Cons.* 2.106

1: Dalmanutha [Δαλμανουθά] ℵ A (B) C L 0131. 0274. 33. 2427 𝔐 l (q) vg sy^{h} (cf. (N) 1241. 1424 *pc* f) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: Magedan [Μαγαδά] D(* Μελεγαδά) aur c (k) (cf. 28 sy^{s}; 565 it)

> hunc sane ordinem etiam Marcus tenens post illud de septem panibus miraculum hoc idem subicit quod Mattheus, nisi quod Dalmanutha, quod in quibusdam codicibus legitur, non dixit Mattheus, sed Magedan. non autem dubitandum est eundem locum esse sub utroque nomine. nam plerique codices non habent etiam secundum Marcum nisi Magedan. (CSEL 43:215)

> In this case, indeed, Mark also keeps the same order; and after his account of the miracle of the seven loaves, subjoins the same intimation as is given us in Matthew, only with this difference, that Matthew's expression for the locality is not Dalmanutha, as is read in certain codices, but Magedan [Mark 8:10-12]. There is no reason, however, for questioning the fact that it is the same place that is intended under both names. For most codices, even of Mark's Gospel, give no other reading than that of Magedan. (NPNF 1.6:153)

In chapter 50 (sections 104-105), Augustine discusses the feeding of the 4000 in Matthew 15 and the other feedings of multitudes in Matthew and Mark. In chapter 51, section 106, he turns to Matt 15:39-16:4 and the destination of Jesus after the feeding account. He concerns himself first with the repetition of a saying within Matthew (cf. Matt 12:38), determining that Jesus must have spoken it twice. Augustine then comments on the location, that although in contrast to "Magedan" in Matthew, some copies of Mark read "Dalmanutha," both names indicate the same location. The fact that most copies of Mark read "Magedan" corroborates that there is no conflict here. After

asserting that there is also no contradiction where Mark omits Matthew's comment that no sign shall be given "but the sign of Jonah" (Matt 16:4; Mark 8:12), Augustine passes on to the next portion of Matthew 16.

Mark 15:25 (see John 19:14)

Mark 15:34

53. Macarius Magnes, *Apokritika* 2.23(12) [Porphyry?]

1: με ἐγκατέλιπες C (K) Θ $f^{1.13}$ 33 𝔐 it vg^{mss} (-λειπ- A *al*) (cf. ἐγκατέλιπές με ℵ B Ψ 059 *pc* vg [-λειπ- L 083. 565. 892. 2427 *pc*]; $Ptol^{Ir}$ Ju Eus [NA, UBS, Metzger])

2: ὠνείδισάς με D c (i) k

> Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἑώλου ἱστορίας καὶ διαφώνου ὡς οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀλλὰ πολλῶν πεπονθότων ἔστι λαβεῖν τὸν λόγον· εἰ γὰρ ὁ μέν· «Εἰς χεῖράς σου, λέγει, παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου», ὁ δέ· «Τετέλεσται», ὁ δέ· «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;» ὁ δέ· «Ὁ Θεός, Θεός μου, εἰς τί ὠνείδισάς με;» φανερὸν ὡς ἀσύμφωνος αὕτη μυθοποιΐα ἢ πολλοὺς σταυρουμένους ἐμφαίνει ἢ ἕνα δυσθανατοῦντα καὶ τὸ σαφὲς τοῖς παροῦσι τοῦ πάθους μὴ παρέχοντα· εἰ δέ, κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τὸν τρόπον τοῦ θανάτου εἰπεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι, οὗτοι παντάπασιν ἐρραψῴδησαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ἐσαφήνισαν. (Goulet)[31]

> From this out-of-date and contradictory record, one can receive it as the statement of the suffering, not of one man, but of many. For if one says "Into thy hands I will commend my spirit," and another "It is finished," and another "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and another "My God, my God, why didst thou reproach me?" it is plain that this is a discordant invention, and either points to many who were crucified, or one who died hard and did not give a clear view of his passion to those who were present. But if these men were not able to tell the manner of his death in a truthful way, and simply repeated it by rote, neither did they leave any clear record concerning the rest of the narrative. (Crafer)[32]

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[31] R. Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie: le Monogénès* (2 vols.; Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2003), 2:34.

[32] T. W. Crafer, *The Apocriticus of Macarius Magnes* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), 38-39.

In this chapter, Macarius quotes his anonymous philosopher[33] on the issue of contradictions and discrepancies among the Gospels. The philosopher points out the differences in the crucifixion narratives as evidence that the four are not recounting history but embellishing a story. He quotes a number of passages from the various Gospels, concluding with the final words of Jesus. Although the philosopher shows no awareness of a distinction between different Gospels' testimonies and variants within a Gospel, the last citation represents a variant of the Markan text. The philosopher uses the four different sayings as proof that either four different people died this way, or the evangelists did not preserve a unified and verbatim account of what Jesus did and said. In the following chapter, Macarius answers that the difference is not in what historically happened but the words the four chose to represent that occurrence, and that between the crowd, earthquake, and eclipse, the scene was chaotic enough to elicit differing eye-witness accounts.

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[33] There is no consensus on whom Macarius is citing. Metzger suggests Porphyry (B. M. Metzger, "St Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* [ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 189 n. 1), but Crafer states that while the arguments themselves may be traced back to Porphyry, the wording seems more like a popularized adaptation by "some smaller man," possibly Hierocles (*Apocriticus*, xv-xvi). In a more recent study, Goulet examines at length the texts of the philosopher and the various hypotheses on his identity. Goulet concludes that we cannot know for certain who this philosopher is but essentially agrees with Crafer that Porphyry or someone influenced by him remains the most likely candidate (*Macarios de Magnésie*, 1:66-149).

Mark 16:2

54. Severus[34], *Hom.* 77

1: ἔτι ἀνατείλαντος K W Y Θ Π 1 565 1582* [35]

2: ἀνατείλαντος (majority of witnesses)

> *Καὶ λίαν πρωῒ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον* ἔτι· τὸ γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐμφέρεται, δηλοῦν ὡς πρὸς ταῖς ἤδη γεγενημέναις, καὶ αὕτη τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἄφιξις γέγονεν. Τὸ δὲ *λίαν πρωῒ* σαφηνίζων ὁ Μάρκος, *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου* προσέθηκεν. (PO 16.5:832)
>
> "And very early on the first day of the week, they came to the tomb besides. . . ." For "besides" is added in the most accurate copies to indicate that in addition to the women who were already present, this arrival of the women at the tomb also occurred. But Mark, clarifying "early in the morning," adds "after the sun had risen."

In this homily, Severus addresses some of the problems relating to the resurrection of Christ. One of his concerns is to harmonize the various resurrection accounts to make sense of the time of the resurrection, particularly in Matthew and Mark. Severus deduces that not one but two groups of women came to the tomb, some late at night after the sabbath, and others early the next morning. When addressing the Markan evidence, Severus notes a variant in 16:2 that helps to explain this (apparently interpreting ἔτι not as temporal, relating to the rising of the sun, but as "besides" or "also," relating to the women coming to the tomb). After this brief aside, Severus returns

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[34] This essay has also been attributed to Gregory of Nyssa as his *In Christi resurrectionem* 2 (cf. PG 46), and to Hesychius of Jerusalem. The extended scholion in Cramer (1:248-49), attributed to Severus, is a lengthy quotation of the same essay. Cf. B. M. Metzger, "The Practice of Textual Criticism among the Church Fathers," *StPatr* 12 (1975): 345; M.-A. Kugener, "Une homélie de Sévère d'Antioche attribuée à Grégoire de Nysse et à Hésychius de Jérusalem," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 3 (1898): 435-51; J. W. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark* (Oxford: J. Parker, 1871), 39-41.

[35] See Swanson. This variant does not appear in NA.

to quoting the rest of this verse and the next two and continues with his description of the women's encounter at the tomb in Mark.

Mark 16:9ff.[36]

55. Eusebius[37], *Quaest. Marin.* 1.1-2

1: *omit* vv. 9ff. א B 304 k sy^{s} sa^{ms} arm^{mss}; Eus Eus^{mss} Hier^{mss}

2: *include* vv. 9ff. (longer ending) A C D W Θ *f*^{13} 33. 2427 𝔐 lat sy$^{c.p.h}$ bo; Ir^{lat} Eus^{mss} Hier^{mss} [NA, UBS, Metzger (in double square brackets)]

> Πῶς παρὰ μὲν τῷ Ματθαίῳ ὀψὲ Σαββάτων φαίνεται ἐγηγερμένος ὁ Σωτὴρ, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Μάρκῳ πρωῒ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν Σαββάτων.
>
> α΄. Τούτου διττὴ ἂν εἴη ἡ λύσις· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ τὴν τοῦτο φάσκουσαν περικοπὴν ἀθετῶν, εἴποι ἂν μὴ ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον Εὐαγγελίου· τὰ γοῦν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὸ τέλος περιγράφει τῆς κατὰ τὸν Μάρκον ἱστορίας ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ ὀφθέντος νεανίσκου ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ εἰρηκότος αὐταῖς, «Μὴ φοβεῖσθε, Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνόν·» καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς, οἷς ἐπιλέγει· «καὶ ἀκούσασαι ἔφυγον, καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπον, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.» Ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ σχεδὸν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον Εὐαγγελίου περιγέγραπται τὸ τέλος· τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς σπανίως ἔν τισιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι φερόμενα περιττὰ ἂν εἴη, καὶ μάλιστα εἴπερ ἔχοιεν ἀντιλογίαν τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν

[36] A number of MSS also include scholia or comments about the ending of Mark as found in other copies. See K. Aland, "Der Schluss des Markusevangeliums," in *L'Évangile selon Marc: tradition et rédaction* (ed. M. Sabbe; BETL 34; Louvain: Louvain University Press; Gembloux: éditions J. Duculot, 1973), 435-70. Similarly, a note is found in the commentaries of both Euthymius Zigabenus (PG 129:845) and Theophylact (PG 123:677 n. 90) about what previous commentators have said on the ending: φασὶν δέ τινες τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἐνταῦθα συμπληροῦσθαι τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον· τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς προσθήκην εἶναι μεταγενέστεραν. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἑρμηνεῦσαι, μηδὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λυμαινομένην (Some of the Commentators state that here [v. 8] the Gospel according to Mark finishes; and that what follows is a spurious addition. This portion we must also interpret, however, since there is nothing in it prejudicial to the truth [Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 69]). Cf. J. Hug, *La Finale de L'Évangile de Marc* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1978), 197.

[37] As J. A. Kelhoffer has pointed out, the attribution of this text to Eusebius has never been carefully investigated (*Miracle and Mission: The Authentication of Missionaries and Their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark* [WUNT 2.112; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000], 6 n. 19); but it has also never been seriously questioned. The text itself is in need of a modern critical edition and further study; for an initial step in this direction, see C. Zamagni, "Les 'Questions et réponses sur les évangiles' d'Eusèbe de Césarée: Étude et édition du résumé grec" (ThD thesis, Université de Lausanne, 2003). I chose to use the PG version of the text rather than Zamagni's since (in the passages given here) this text is not substantially different from PG.

μαρτυρίᾳ· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴποι ἄν τις παραιτούμενος καὶ πάντη ἀναιρῶν περιττὸν ἐρώτημα. Ἄλλος δέ τις οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν τολμῶν ἀθετεῖν τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ἐν τῇ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων γραφῇ φερομένων, διπλῆν εἶναί φησι τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πολλοῖς, ἑκατέραν τε παραδεκτέαν ὑπάρχειν, τῷ μὴ μᾶλλον ταύτην ἐκείνης, ἢ ἐκείνην ταύτης, παρὰ τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ εὐλαβέσιν ἐγκρίνεσθαι. (PG 22:937, 940)

How is it that in Matthew the Savior, after having been raised, appears "late on the Sabbath" but in Mark "early on the first day of the week"?

1. The solution to this might be twofold. For, on the one hand, the one who rejects the passage itself, [namely] the pericope which says this, might say that it does not appear in all the copies of the Gospel according to Mark. At any rate, the accurate ones of the copies define the end of the history according to Mark with the words of the young man who appeared to the women and said to them, "Do not fear. You are seeking Jesus the Nazarene" and the [words] that follow. In addition to these, it says, "And having heard [this] they fled, and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid."

For in this way the ending of the Gospel according to Mark is defined in nearly all the copies. The things that appear next, seldom [and] in some but not in all [of the copies], may be spurious, especially since it implies a contradiction to the testimony of the rest of the evangelists. This then [is what] someone might say to avoid and completely do away with a superfluous question.

On the other hand, someone else, who dares to set aside nothing whatsoever of the things which appear, by whatever means, in the text of the Gospels, says that the reading is double, as also in many other [cases], and [that] each of the two [readings] must be accepted in that [they both] are approved in the opinion of the faithful and pious, not this [reading] rather than that, or that [reading] rather than this. (Kelhoffer)[38]

ὡς παρίστασθαι ἐν τούτοις καιροὺς δύο· τὸν μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τὸν ὀψὲ τοῦ Σαββάτου· τὸν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπιφανείας, τὸν πρωῒ, ὃν ἔγραψεν ὁ Μάρκος εἰπὼν (ὃ καὶ μετὰ διαστολῆς ἀναγνωστέον) « ἀναστὰς δέ· » εἶτα ὑποστίξαντες, τὸ ἑξῆς ῥητέον, « πρωῒ τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ Σαββάτου ἐφάνη Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια. » (PG 22:940)

The consequence is that two points in time are presented in these [pericopes], for the one [is the time] of the resurrection, which was "late on the Sabbath." The other [is the time] of the manifestation of the Savior, which was "early." Mark wrote [about the later time] when he said that which must be read with a pause, "and having risen." Then, after having inserted a comma, one must read what

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[38] J. A. Kelhoffer, "The Witness of Eusebius' *ad Marinum* and Other Christian Writings to Text-Critical Debates concerning the Original Conclusion of Mark's Gospel," *ZNW* 92 (2001): 84-86. The brackets are Kelhoffer's and indicate words "which do not have explicit equivalents" in the Greek text (p. 83 n. 12). Cf. Metzger, "Practice of Textual Criticism," 344.

> follows, "early on the first day of the week he appeared to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons." (Kelhoffer)[39]

In this text, which is a series of questions by Marinus and answers regarding difficulties in the final chapters of the Gospels, Eusebius begins with a question about the difference in time between the resurrection appearances in Matthew and Mark: Matt 28:1 says that Jesus was resurrected late on the sabbath (ὀψὲ Σαββάτων), while Mark 16:9 says that Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene early on the first day of the week (πρωῒ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν Σαββάτων). Eusebius answers that there are two solutions to this problem: either Mark's evidence can be rejected because this ending of Mark is rare and appears to contradict the other Gospels; or both accounts are somehow true. For the second option to work, Eusebius emphasizes that the actions narrated by Matthew and Mark are slightly different: Matthew is referring to the resurrection, while Mark is referring to the first resurrection appearance. Therefore, it is possible that both events happened at different times, as described by the two evangelists. The resurrection appearances in the Gospel of John are pointed out as further evidence of Jesus appearing early in the morning (cf. John 20:1; 21:4). Eusebius concludes by summarizing his argument and noting how Mark 16:9 may be read in harmony with Matthew, if it is read correctly (with a pause). After concluding this argument, Eusebius then passes on to the second question (see §56, below).

[39] Kelhoffer, "Witness of Eusebius' *ad Marinum*," 87. Compare this paragraph in particular with Severus (§58, below).

56. Eusebius, *Quaest. Marin.* 2.7

1: *include* v. 9 (longer ending) (see above)

2*: *omit* v. 9

Εἰ δὲ τὸ τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς προσκείμενον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς εὐαγγελισταῖς ὄνομα τὴν διάνοιαν ταράττει, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ προσήκει τὴν θείαν συγχεῖν Γραφὴν λέξεως μιᾶς ἢ ὀνόματος ἕνεκεν, ὃ πολλάκις συμβαίνει καὶ κατὰ γραφικὸν προσκεῖσθαι σφάλμα· ἢ γὰρ δύο καὶ ταύτας ἀπὸ μιᾶς πόλεως ἢ κώμης τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς ὁρμᾶσθαι ἡγητέον· ἢ ἐπὶ μιᾶς αὐτῶν προσκεῖσθαι τὸ τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς ἐπώνυμον, ἅπαξ τοῦ γραφέως κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν σφαλέντος, ὅτι ἐξ ἐκείνου τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτὸν πρώτῳ ἐπηκολουθηκότων σφάλματι· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑτέρῳ συμβὰν, σμικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπιδείξωμεν· ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοιούτων ὀρθῶς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπηγόρευτο, κατὰ σφάλμα δὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀκριβούντων τὴν μεταβολὴν, συμβέβηκέ τινα ζητεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπωνύμου τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς περιττῶς ἐπὶ μιᾶς Μαρίας κειμένου εἴποις ἂν γεγονέναι· οὗ ὑφαιρεθέντος, περιγέγραπται πᾶσα ζήτησις, μηδενὸς μηκέτι κατὰ τοὺς τόπους ἀπορουμένου· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀψὲ Σαββάτων, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι βαθείας νυκτὸς, τῶν παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ πεπραγμένων ἑωραμένων ὑπὸ τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Μαρίας· καὶ πρωΐας, ἔτι σκοτίας οὔσης, ἑτέρας Μαρίας ἀφικομένης ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον· καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἀπορούσης ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ εὑρεῖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Σωτῆρος· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς αὐτοπτούσης αὐτόν· κάλλιον δὲ τὸ μὴ δὲ σφάλμα αἰτιάσασθαι κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, δύο δὲ ἀληθῶς γεγονέναι τὰς Μαγδαληνὰς φάσκειν, ὡς καὶ τέτταρας ἀπεδείξαμεν τὰς Μαρίας· ὧν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Μαγδαληνῆς δύο Μαρίας ὁρμᾶσθαι λέγειν, μηδέν τε λοιπὸν ἀπορεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέραν μὲν εἶναι τὴν ὀψὲ Σαββάτων παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ Μαγδαληνὴν, ἑτέραν δὲ αὖθις καὶ αὐτὴν Μαγδαληνὴν τὴν παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πρωΐας ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἐλθοῦσαν· ταύτην δὲ εἶναι τὴν καὶ παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ δηλουμένην, κατά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια· καὶ ταύτην εἰκὸς εἶναι τὴν ἀκούσασαν *Μή μου ἅπτου,* ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τὴν παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα κἀκείνη ἀπὸ τῆς Μαγδαληνῆς ὡρμᾶτο, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ αὐτῆς ἡ θεία κατηγορεῖ Γραφή. (PG 22:948)

But if the name of Magdalene added in both evangelists troubles the mind, it is not proper to confound the divine Scripture on account of one reading or one name which, as often happens, is actually added by a scribal error. For one must consider either that there are two women and they both come from one city or village "of the Magdalene," or to one of them is added the surname Magdalene, once through a scribal error at the beginning, and then from that one resulted what came after it due to the first error; but that this happened also in another place, let us show a little later. But just as it is known to happen, that the dictation is given correctly at the beginning, but because of a change made subsequently in error by those who did not completely understand, a difficulty then arose, so also you might say it happened in this instance concerning the surname Magdalene which

> extraneously appears with one Mary.[40] Once this issue is eliminated, every question has been addressed, so no one is anymore in doubt regarding these passages, both "after the Sabbath" [Matt 28:1]—this is late at night—when the things that happened in Matthew were seen by Magdalene and the other Mary, and early, while it was yet dark, another Mary arrived at the same place; and at first she was at a loss to find the body of the Savior, but later she even saw him for herself. But it is better not to charge an error in either location; rather, two truly say Magdalene was present, as also we have shown there are four Marys. It is not strange to say that two of the four Marys came from the same Magdala, and there is no further reason to doubt. But one is the Magdalene from "after the Sabbath" in Matthew, and yet another again is also the same Magdalene who in John came to the tomb early; but this is the one indicated also in Mark, according to some of the copies, "from whom he cast out seven demons" [Mark 16:9]; and this is likely the one hearing "Do not touch me," but not the one in Matthew. For even though most certainly the first came from Magdala, the divine Scripture does not also accuse her of similar things.

In response to the second question from Marinus, Eusebius addresses the issue of the two different descriptions of Mary Magdalene in the resurrection appearances (in Matthew vs. John). Toward the end of the answer, after explaining the time references, the Synoptic accounts, and so forth, he poses another possibility: two different Marys are intended. He then lays out the four Marys who appear in the Gospels and where they fit into the crucifixion and resurrection accounts. Eusebius proceeds to comment on two different textual matters: one is the possible scribal error that turned what was originally a depiction of two different Marys into apparently contradictory descriptions of one Mary from Magdala; the other is the added comment (to reinforce his answer in the first question; see above) that "according to some of the copies" of Mark, Mary is referred to as the one from whom Jesus cast out seven demons (Mark 16:9). The latter is said only in passing, as it has already been addressed more fully, but as to the former, Eusebius

[40] In his abridged paraphrase of Eusebius's answer, Jerome says that some claim the confusion between the two Gospels is due to a scribe inappropriately adding "Magdalene" where Mark intended only "Mary" (nonnulli, ut se liberent quaestione, in marco uolunt unam esse de mariis, sed non additum cognomen magdalenae, et ex superfluo scriptorum inoleuisse uitio, quod primum euangelista non scripserit [Jerome, *Ep.* 120.4; CSEL 55:483]).

prefers not to charge a scribal error to either Gospel but to find another solution to the apparent contradiction between the resurrection accounts: there were two different Marys who came from Magdala, one who appears in Matthew late on the Sabbath, and one who is in John early on the first day of the week.

57. Jerome, *Ep.* 120.3

1: *include* vv. 9-20 (longer ending) (see above)

2: *omit* vv. 9-20

> cuius quaestionis duplex solutio est. aut enim non recipimus Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur euangeliis omnibus Graeciae libris paene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus, praesertim cum diuersa atque contraria euangelistis ceteris narrare uideatur, aut hoc respondendum, quod uterque uerum dixerit. . . . (CSEL 55:481)
>
> The answer to this question is twofold. For either we do not accept the testimony of Mark, because it is present in few [copies of the] Gospels—nearly all the Greek manuscripts do not have this section to the end—especially since it would seem to narrate what is different from and contrary to the other evangelists; or this response: that both [Matthew and Mark] speak the truth.

In this letter, Jerome is answering a number of scriptural questions for Hedibia, an educated lady of Gaul. In response to the third question (on why the evangelists narrated the resurrection in different ways), Jerome paraphrases Eusebius's comparison of the resurrection accounts in Matthew and Mark, quoting Mark 16:9-10 (see *Quaest. Marin.* 1.1; §55, above). Jerome also reproduces Eusebius's answer that there are two solutions to this problem; he abridges and adapts that answer for his Latin audience, explaining that the longer ending is rare particularly in the *Greek* MSS. As Jerome proceeds with the letter, he follows the order of Eusebius's text, addressing additional questions about the

resurrection appearances and seeming contradictions between the accounts in the different Gospels.[41]

58. Severus[42], *Hom.* 77

1: *omit* vv. 9ff. (see above)

2: *include* vv. 9(ff.) (longer ending)

> ᾿Εν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις ἀντιγράφοις τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον μέχρι τοῦ *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ* ἔχει τὸ τέλος. ᾿Εν δέ τισι πρόσκειται καὶ ταῦτα· *᾿Αναστὰς δὲ πρωῒ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ ἀφ᾿ ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια.* Τοῦτο δὲ ἐναντίωσίν τινα δοκεῖ ἔχειν πρὸς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῖν εἰρημένα. Τῆς γὰρ ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγνώστου τυγχανούσης καθ᾿ ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ ἀνέστη, πῶς ἐνταῦθα ἀναστῆναι πρωῒ γέγραπται; ᾿Αλλ᾿ οὐδὲν ἐναντίον φανήσεται τὸ ῥητὸν εἰ μετ᾿ ἐπιστήμης ἀναγνωσόμεθα. Καὶ γὰρ ὑποστίξαι χρὴ συνετῶς· *᾿Αναστὰς δέ*, καὶ οὕτως ἐπαγαγεῖν· *πρωῒ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ*· ἵνα τὸ μὲν *ἀναστὰς* ἔχῃ τὴν ἀναφορὰν συμφώνως τῷ Ματθαίῳ πρὸς τὸν προλαβόντα καιρόν· τὸ δὲ *πρωῒ* πρὸς τὴν τῇ Μαρίᾳ γενομένην ἐπιφάνειαν ἀποδοθείη. . . . (PO 16.5:840, 842)
>
> In the more accurate copies, the Gospel according to Mark has its end at “for they were afraid.” In some copies, however, this also is added,—“Now when He was risen early the first day of the week, He appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom He had cast seven devils.” This, however, seems to contradict to some

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[41] Burgon (*Last Twelve Verses*, 53-54 n. b) offers a phrase-by-phrase comparison of Jerome and Eusebius to illustrate Jerome’s dependence on the earlier tradition. The fact that the next three questions in Jerome’s letter also follow the topic and order of questions in Eusebius raises issues about the exact relationship between these two writings. See also Kelhoffer, “Witness of Eusebius’ *ad Marinum*,” 99-101. Recently, A. Cain has argued that the questions are completely genuine to Hedibia “if we reasonably postulate that Hedibia had the Greek Father’s [Eusebius’s] work in hand, copied three of the questions from it that piqued her interest, and then sent these as part of her exegetical wish list to get better answers from Jerome” (*The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2009], 182). However, if we postulate this, we must also postulate that Jerome recognized the three questions she borrowed and repeated the corresponding answers from Eusebius, thereby denying her wish for better answers by repeating the same answers. A much simpler and likely postulation is that Jerome, who is known for borrowing large sections of text from earlier writers, is entirely responsible for the similarity to Eusebius’s text. This does not, however, mean that there was no letter from Hedibia, or that she did not ask questions about the Gospels. It may well be that Hedibia asked one question, which prompted Jerome to adopt a span of three questions and answers from Eusebius, or that Hedibia asked three similar questions, but Jerome took the phrasing of the questions in his response from Eusebius rather than from Hedibia.

[42] See Mark 16:2, above (§54), for more on the attribution of this text.

> extent what we before delivered; for since it happens that the hour of the night when our SAVIOUR rose is not known, how does it come to be here written that He rose "early?" But the saying will prove to be no ways contradictory, if we read with skill. We must be careful intelligently to introduce a comma after, "Now when He was risen:" and then to proceed,—"Early in the Sabbath He appeared first to Mary Magdalene:" in order that "when He was risen" may refer (in conformity with what Matthew says) to the foregoing season; while "early" is connected with the appearance to Mary." (Burgon)[43]

Earlier in this homily, which addresses some problems regarding the resurrection appearances, Severus has already commented on one variant related to the time listed in the different Gospels (see Mark 16:2; §54, above). Here, after describing the appearance of the young man in white and the fear he inspired in the women, Severus again mentions the MS evidence. In an apparent paraphrase and condensation of Eusebius's comments in *Quest. Marin.* 1.1-2 (see §55, above), Severus first notes that the most accurate copies end at Mark 16:8, but then mentions that other copies continue with v. 9. The objection is to the time given in v. 9, which could be seen as contradictory. He includes the explanation of how this should be read correctly (with a pause), and finishes the thought by stating that "early" refers to the period of time after the cock crows. Severus then moves on to a comparison of the times noted in each of the Gospel accounts.

59. Victor of Antioch, *Comm. Mark* 16:8-9[44]

1: *include* vv. 9ff. (longer ending) (see above)

2: *omit* vv. 9ff.

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[43] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses,* 57.

[44] Burgon offers an extended treatment of Victor's commentary (which is really a compilation of other works) and the MSS of this commentary in an appendix (*Last Twelve Verses,* 269-90). He finds many of the copies to be abridgements, and thus he refers to Cramer's edition (although it is a catena) as the fullest and best version of Victor's commentary on these verses (see also p. 60). Alternately, Westcott and Hort understand the fuller version of the commentary to include later additions not original to Victor ("Notes on Select Readings," 34-36).

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων πρόσκειται τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον Εὐαγγελίου, "ἀναστὰς δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου πρωῒ, ἐφάνη Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς." δοκεῖ δὲ τοῦτο διαφωνεῖν τῷ ὑπὸ Ματθαίου εἰρημένῳ, ἐροῦμεν ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν εἰπεῖν ὅτι νενόθευται ἐν τῷ παρὰ Μάρκῳ τελευταῖον ἔν τισι φερόμενον. πάλιν πλὴν ἵνα μὴ δόξωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτοιμον πεφυγέναι, οὕτως ἀναγνωσόμεθα· "ἀναστὰς δὲ," καὶ ὑποστίξαντες ἐπάγομεν, "πρωῒ τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου ἐφάνη Μαρίᾳ, τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ," ἵνα[45] τὸ μὲν, ἀναστὰς, ἀναπέμψωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ "ὀψὲ σαββάτων" (τότε γὰρ ἐγηγέρθαι αὐτὸν πιστεύομεν) τὸ δὲ ἑξῆς ἑτέρας ὂν διανοίας παραστατικὸν, συνάψωμεν τοῖς ἐπιλεγομένοις. (Cramer, 1:444)

In certain copies of Mark's Gospel, next comes, "Now when [Jesus] was risen early the first day of the week, He appeared to Mary Magdalene . . ."—a statement which seems inconsistent with Matthew's narrative. This might be met by asserting that the conclusion of Mark's Gospel, though found in certain copies, is spurious. However, that we may not seem to betake ourselves to an off-hand answer, we propose to read the place thus: "Now when [Jesus] was risen"—then, after a comma, to go on—"early the first day of the week He appeared to Mary Magdalene." In this way we refer [Mark's] "Now when [Jesus] was risen" to Matthew's "in the end of the sabbath" (for *then* we believe Him to have *risen*); and all that comes after, expressive as it is of a different notion, we connect with what follows. (Burgon)[46]

Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ, "ἀναστὰς δὲ πρωῒ" μετὰ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα παρὰ πλείστοις ἀντιγράφοις οὐ κεῖνται ἐν τῷ παρόντι Εὐαγγελίῳ, ὡς νόθα νομίσαντες αὐτὰ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἀκριβῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐν πλείστοις εὑρόντες αὐτὰ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ Παλαιστιναῖον Εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς ἔχει ἡ ἀλήθεια Μάρκου, συντεθείκαμεν, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιφερομένην δεσποτικὴν ἀνάστασιν, μετὰ τὸ "ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ," τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ "ἀναστὰς δὲ πρωῒ πρώτῃ σαββάτου" καὶ καθ' ἑξῆς, μέχρι τοῦ "διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων. 'Αμήν." (Cramer, 1:447)

εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀναστὰς δὲ πρωῒ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ἐπιφερόμενα, ἐν τῷ κατὰ μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ παρὰ πλείστοις ἀντιγράφοις οὐ κεῖνται, ὡς νόθα νομίσαντες αὐτά τινες εἶναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξ ἀκριβῶν ἀντιγράφων ὡς ἐν πλείστοις εὑρόντες αὐτὰ κατὰ τὸ παλαιστιναῖον εὐαγγέλιον μάρκου, ὡς ἔχει ἡ ἀλήθεια συντεθείκαμεν, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιφερομένην δεσποτικὴν ἀνάστασιν μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, τούτεστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναστὰς δὲ

[45] Burgon shows, in parallel columns, how from this point forward Victor is simply quoting (and adapting) Eusebius's *Quest. Marin.* 1.2 (*Last Twelve Verses*, 63). There is also similarity in what precedes this point, most of which is paralleled in Severus's quote (see §58, above); cf. the comparison of Victor and Severus by Burgon (p. 268).

[46] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 62. The brackets and italics are original to Burgon; however, I have corrected and updated his punctuation.

πρωῒ πρώτῃ σαββάτου καὶ καθ’ ἑξῆς μέχρι τοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων. ’Αμήν. (Kelhoffer)[47]

Even if the [reading], ‘and having risen early on the first day of the week he appeared first to Mary Magdalene’ and what follows afterward in the Gospel according to Mark, does not occur in most copies,[48] with the result that some people think it to be spurious, we,[49] since we have found it in most of the accurate copies in accordance with the Palestinian Gospel of Mark, have included [it] in accordance with the truth. And [we have also included] the resurrection of the Master which follows in it after the [passage], ‘For they were afraid,’ that is, from the [passage], ‘and having risen early on the first day of the week’ and what follows, until the [passage] ‘through the accompanying signs. Amen.’ (Kelhoffer)[50]

Victor of Antioch’s *Commentary on Mark,* while one of the few commentaries on this Gospel from the early church, is admittedly a collection of texts from previous authors. He begins his exposition on Mark 6:8 with a quote from John Chrysostom, then shortly thereafter turns to Eusebius for evidence about the ending of Mark. Victor records the same problem here, the potential conflict between Matthew and Mark, especially as it appears in Mark 16:9. He summarizes and paraphrases Eusebius’s appeal to the MS evidence and his conclusion that the verses are in harmony if read properly (with a pause in Mark 16:9). The commentary on Mark 16:9 again returns to Eusebius, here citing him by name, and concludes with a final paragraph that once more

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[47] Kelhoffer, “Witness of Eusebius’ *ad Marinum*,” 104. His text is based on Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 288-89 (who produces a critical edition of this paragraph only) and Aland, “Der Schluss des Markusevangeliums,” 444-45.

[48] Cramer’s version differs substantially only to this point, and may be translated (adapting Kelhoffer’s translation), “Even if the reading ‘and having risen early,’ and then what follows, does not occur in the present Gospel in most copies, with the result . . .”

[49] Burgon indicates that to here, Victor is summarizing Eusebius (cf. §55, above), but that the rest of the comments belong to Victor (in response to Eusebius) (*Last Twelve Verses*, 64-65). Westcott and Hort argue that this portion of Victor’s commentary (based on the MS evidence) is not from Victor himself but was added later (no earlier than the 6th cent.) (“Notes on Select Readings,” 35). Even if this is the case, it is still valid to compare the excerpt against Eusebius and judge that it contains a summary of his point and a reaction to it.

[50] Kelhoffer, “Witness of Eusebius’ *ad Marinum*,” 104. The brackets are original to Kelhoffer.

summarizes Eusebius's reference to the MS evidence, and then appears to comment on Eusebius, adding that the longer ending is found in the most accurate copies of Mark and thus is included here. However, the commentary, as preserved in the scholion, ends at Mark 16:9 and does not continue with further exposition on the longer ending.

Mark 16:14

60. Jerome, *Pelag.* 2.15

1: Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes: Saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub Satana

> est, qui non sinit per immundos spiritus ueram Dei apprehendi uirtutem: idcirco iam nunc reuela iustitiam tuam [κἀκεῖνοι ἀπελογοῦντο λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος τῆς ἀνομίας καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας ὑπὸ τὸν Σατανᾶν ἐστιν, ὁ μὴ ἐῶν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀκάθαρτα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαβέσθαι δύναμιν· διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκάλυψον σοῦ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἤδη] W; Hier^{mss}

2*: *omit* (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger][51]

> In quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime Graecis codicibus, iuxta Marcum in fine Euangelii eius scribitur: *Postea, cum accubuissent undecim, apparuit eis, et exprobrauit incredulitati et duritiae cordis eorum, quia his qui eum uiderant resurgentem non crediderunt. Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes: Saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub Satana est, qui non sinit per immundos spiritus ueram Dei apprehendi uirtutem: idcirco iam nunc reuela iustitiam tuam.* (CCSL 80:73)

> In some exemplars and especially in Greek manuscripts of Mark in the end of his Gospel is written: "Afterwards when the eleven had sat down at table, Jesus appeared to them and rebuked their unbelief and hardness of heart because they had not believed those who saw him risen. And they justified themselves saying that this age of iniquity and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow the truth

[51] The evidence given here refers exclusively to the so-called Freer logion, attested only by W and Jerome. However, Jerome is referring not merely to this sentence as the variant, but to the longer ending as a whole. For the witnesses attesting the longer ending, see above (§55).

and power of God to be grasped by unclean spirits. Therefore reveal your righteousness now." (Parker)[52]

At the end of section 14, Jerome has cited a number of examples from the Gospels in response to the assertion "People can be sinless if they want to" by showing places where something was intended or wanted by a person but not fulfilled. He then begins section 15 with a quote from Mark (in some copies and in the Greek). Jerome allows for the possibility that some may reject this evidence, so he immediately follows it with another quote that they certainly will not reject, from 1 John 5:19 (on the power of the evil one) and then the fact that Satan tempted Jesus. He uses the latter to bring up and refute the charge of Jovinian (that the baptized cannot be tempted), and then returns to the various failings of the disciples. In the following sections, Jerome also notes variants at Luke 22:43 (see §75, below) and John 7:53ff. (see §87).

Luke 1:35

61. Ephraem Graecus[53], *Sermo adversus haereticos*

1: ἐκ σοῦ C* Θ f^1 33 *pc* a c e (r^1) vg^{cl} sy^p; Ir^{lat} Tert Ad Epiph

2: *omit* (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

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[52] D. C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 128 (I added the quotation marks); see pp. 124-47 for his discussion of the ending of Mark. See also Metzger, "St. Jerome's Explicit References," 182-83.

[53] Although the original attribution to Ephrem the Syrian is false, Luke 1:35 is a significant verse for Ephrem and the Syrian tradition. In fact, this variant (as it occurs in both Syriac and Greek) is also mentioned by at least one Syriac author, Dionysius (Jacob) bar Salibi (12th cent.). Bar Salibi's explicit reference was otherwise omitted from this dissertation because of the necessity (due to constraints of time and space) to limit this study to Greek and Latin fathers. Tjitze Baarda translates bar Salibi's comment: "Some people make the objection, that we must say 'He that was born *of thee*' and not '*in thee*', because a child is born *of* a woman. And we say (in reply): There are manuscripts in which is written 'He that is born *of thee*', and (there are) Greek (manuscripts) in which is written neither 'of thee' nor 'in thee', but 'He that is born is holy'. But (I can maintain my textual choice, for) 'born in thee' is (the same as) 'conceived in thee'" (for the translation, as well as the Syriac text and a discussion of the variants, see Baarda, "Dionysios bar Salibi and the Text of Luke 1.35," *Vigiliae Christianae* 17 [1963]: 225-29).

> Οὕτω λέγει καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτι Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθένον. Διατί; Ἵνα λάβῃ δύναμιν χωρῆσαι τὴν Θεότητα. Καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι. Ἡ ἀστραπὴ ἐπιστήσεταί σου τῇ φύσει, ὅτι τὸ γεννώμενον ἐκ σοῦ ἅγιον, κληθήσεται Υἱὸς Θεοῦ. Οὐκ εἶπε, τὸ γεγεννημένον πάλιν γεννηθήσεται, οὐδὲ εἶπε, τὸ γεννώμενον ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως ἢ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ σοῦ· ἵνα δείξῃ τὴν φύσιν τῆς Παρθένου λειτουργοῦσαν τῇ Θεότητι, καὶ τὴν πρόσληψιν[54] ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ συμπλεκομένην. Εἰ μὴ εἶπε, τὸ γεννώμενον ἐκ σοῦ, τάχα ἂν σχῆμα ἐνομίσθη ὁ Λόγος προσειληφέναι. Ἔνια τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ περιέχει τό, ἐκ σοῦ, ταῖς αἱρέσεσι χαριζόμενα. Εἰ καὶ μηδ' ἔχει τό, ἐκ σοῦ, ὦ αἱρετικέ, ἡ προσθήκη ἐκ σοῦ σῴζει τὸν νοῦν, ὃν εἶπεν ἐν τῷ, διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον, σημαίνων τὴν προσπλοκὴν τῆς προσλήψεως. (Phrantzolas)[55]

> Thus the Gospel says also, that the Spirit of the Lord will come upon the Virgin. Why? So that she might receive the power to contain the Divinity. "And the power of the Most High will overshadow you." The lightning will know you by nature, because "the holy one born from you will be called the Son of God." He did not say, "the one who was born will be born again," nor did he say, "the one born from the power" or "the Holy Spirit," but "from you"; so that he might show the Virgin's nature serving the Divinity, and the humanity in her and from her mingled with the Word and God. If he had not said, "the one born from you," the Word would probably be considered to have taken a form. Some of the copies, favored by the heresies, do not contain "from you." Even if it does not have "from you," O Heretic, the addition "from you" preserves the meaning, which he said in the statement "therefore also the one born," indicating the mixture of the humanity.

In response to Christological heresies, the author of this text continually returns to the image of the pearl to describe the conception of the Word in Mary and the joining of the human and divine natures.[56] Here, the words of the angel in Luke 1:35 are

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[54] Literally, "acceptance" or "addition," but the term throughout this work and other Christological discussions refers to the element already dwelling within Mary that mixed with the divine nature (i.e., the human nature). Using the metaphor of the pearl, this same text explains just a few lines earlier that "the fire [or lightning] symbolizes the divine nature, and the water the *proslepsis*" (τὸ γὰρ πῦρ σημαίνει τὴν Θεότητα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὴν πρόσληψιν). Like the story of the pearl's creation, the fire from heaven and the water that receives it combine to produce the Pearl (see n. 56, below).

[55] Ὁσίου Ἐφραὶμ τοῦ Σύρου: Ἔργα (ed. K. Phrantzolas; 7 vols.; Thessalonike: Periboli tes Pangias, 1988-98), 6:151.

[56] The pearl was a favorite metaphor of Ephrem the Syrian as well, and this text picks up on a number of the images that Ephrem associates with the pearl (manna, eucharist, fire, water, etc.). The fire and water imagery is based on the the ancient belief that pearls were created by lightning striking the shell

emphasized, saying that the holy one will be born from her. The author especially picks up on the phrase "from you" as indicating the humanity within Mary that would join together with the divine nature. While he says this phrase is missing in the MSS used by the heretics, he finds it valuable to add the phrase back in since it is consistent with the meaning of the angel's declaration. He continues on to say that the very purpose of the divine nature overshadowing Mary is in order to be born human, and then turns to the different qualities of the pearl and what they symbolize.

Luke 1:46

62. Origen, *Hom. Luc.* 7.3 [Jerome][57]

1: Maria [Μαριάμ] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: Elisabeth a b l*; Ir^{arm} Or$^{lat\ mss}$ Nic

> Non est itaque dubium, quin quae tunc >repleta est Spiritu sancto<, propter filium sit >replete<. Neque enim mater primum Spiritum sanctum meruit, sed cum Ioannes adhuc clausus in utero Spiritum sanctum recepisset, tunc et illa post sanctificationem filii >repleta est Spiritu sancto<. Poteris hoc credere, si simile quid etiam de Salvatore cognoveris. [Invenitur beata Maria, sicut in aliquantis exemplaribus repperimus, prophetare. Non enim ignoramus, quod secundum alios codices et haec verba Elisabeth vaticinetur.] Spiritu itaque sancto tunc repleta est Maria, quando coepit in utero habere Salvatorem. Statim enim ut Spiritum sanctum accepit Dominici corporis conditorem, et Filius Dei esse coepit in utero, etiam ipsa completa est Spiritu sancto. (GCS, Or 9:43)

> So there is no doubt on this point. Elizabeth, who was filled with the Holy Spirit at that moment, received the Spirit on account of her son. For the mother did not

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within the sea (thus, fire from heaven striking the water). See S. Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of Saint Ephrem the Syrian* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1985), 106-8.

[57] Metzger includes this citation in his discussion of Origen's references to variants, but in a footnote he adds, "According to Zahn (*Komm.*, Exk. III, pp. 748 seq.) the significant words regarding the variant are due to Jerome and do not represent Origen's original homily; see also Zahn in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxii (1911), pp. 253-68" ("Explicit References," 86 n. 20). The GCS edition includes the comment in brackets (but not the PG edition) to indicate its secondary nature and also cites Zahn in the notes (this is probably the source of Metzger's reference). The fact that the variant is found only in Latin witnesses reinforces the suggestion that the comment comes from Jerome rather than Origen.

> merit the Holy Spirit first. First John, still enclosed in her womb, received the Holy Spirit. Then she too, after her son was sanctified, was filled with the Holy Spirit. You will be able to believe this if you also learn something similar about the Savior. (In a certain number of manuscripts, we have discovered that blessed Mary is said to prophesy. We are not unaware of the fact that, according to other copies of the Gospel, Elizabeth speaks these words in prophecy.) So Mary also was filled with the Holy Spirit when she began to carry the Savior in her womb. For, as soon as she received the Holy Spirit, who was the creator of the Lord's body, and the Son of God began to exist in her womb, she too was filled with the Holy Spirit. (FC 94:29)

In this homily, Origen is reflecting upon Jesus's visit to John, both in utero, through Mary's visit to Elizabeth. Discussing how both women were filled with the Spirit, Origen clarifies that the Spirit first filled the child, then the mother. In this discussion of Elizabeth and the parallel experience in Mary, Jerome (the translator) interjects that some MSS say Mary is the one who prophesied (presumably, speaking the words of the Magnificat), while others say it was Elizabeth. The homily then continues with the discussion of the women being filled with the Holy Spirit (see Luke 1:41-42) and the encounter between Mary and Elizabeth. The variant is not discussed further, and in the next homily (which covers 1:46ff.) Mary is assumed to be the speaker of the Magnificat.

Luke 2:4; John 7:42

63. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 51.9.7

(See Additional Texts.)

Luke 2:33

64. Jerome, *Helv.* 8, 16 (18)

(See Additional Texts.)

Luke 3:22

65. Augustine, *Cons.* 2.31

1: tu es filius meus dilectus in te conplacuit mihi [σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te [υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε]

D it; Ju (Cl) Meth Hil Aug

> illud uero quod nonnulli codices habent secundum Lucam hoc illa uoce sonuisse quod in psalmo scriptum est: filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te, quamquam in antiquioribus codicibus Graecis non inueniri perhibeatur, tamen si aliquibus fide dignis exemplaribus confirmari possit, quid aliud quam utrumque intellegendum est quolibet uerborum ordine de caelo sonuisse? (CSEL 43:132)

> But once more, with respect to that rendering which is contained in some codices of the Gospel according to Luke, and which bears that the words heard in the heavenly voice were those that are written in the Psalm, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee" [Ps 2:7]; although it is said not to be found in the more ancient Greek codices, yet if it can be established by any copies worthy of credit, what results but that we suppose both voices to have been heard from heaven, in one or other verbal order? (NPNF 1.6:120)

After briefly discussing the baptism of Jesus in chapter 13 (section 30), Augustine turns to the words spoken by the voice from heaven in chapter 14 (section 31). Starting with Matthew, he compares the wording of the Synoptic accounts. The main divergence is between Matthew ("This is my Son"; Matt 3:17) and Mark//Luke ("You are my Son"; Mark 1:11//Luke 3:22), although the Latin presents a further nuance between Luke ("in you it has pleased me") and Mark ("in you I am well pleased"). Augustine explains that while at the actual event, the voice from heaven spoke only one of these phrases ("You are my Son"), the difference in wording among the evangelists is meant to clarify the meaning for the audience (since God's message was really for the people to hear, and so Matthew directs the words toward them). In fact, Augustine sees the diverse versions not

as complicating the passage but as helping to elucidate it by presenting different points of view. However, he notes a further variation in the parallels that does not fit this explanation: the inclusion of Ps 2:7 in Luke 3:22. While Augustine determines that this variant is lacking from the older Greek copies, he states that if the variant is discovered in any reliable copies, then one must seriously consider that the voice from heaven said both words (“in you I am well pleased” and “today I have begotten you”). He then turns to the Johannine account of the baptism in chapter 15 (section 32).

Luke 7:35 (cf. Matthew 11:19)

66. Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 6.6

1: filiis [τῶν τέκνων] B W *f*[13] 579. 892 (cf. A Ξ 33 𝕸; D L Θ Ψ *f*[1] 700. 1241. 2542 *al*)

[NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: operibus [τῶν ἔργων] ℵ[(2)]

> *Iustificata est ergo sapientia ab omnibus filiis suis.* Bene ab omnibus, quia circa omnes iustitia reseruatur. Vt susceptio fiat fidelium, reiectio perfidorum. Vnde et plerique Graeci sic habent: *iustificata est sapientia ab omnibus operibus suis,* quod opus iustitiae sit circa uniuscuiusque meritum seruare mensuram. (CCSL 14:176-77)

> So, ***“Wisdom has been justified by her children”*** *(Lk 7:35).* In a sense, wisdom is justified by all of us. I mean those who believe are made welcome, and those who decline to believe are rejected. That is why many Greek texts have: *“Wisdom has been justified by all her works”.* For it is the work of justice to measure accurately the worth of each one. (Ní Riain)[58]

Ambrose has been discussing in book 6 particularly the theme of justification in Luke 7. At v. 32, he shifts to describing the complacency of the Jews who could no longer be moved by the wonders of God. He skips forward to v. 35 and briefly explains

[58] *Commentary of Saint Ambrose on the Gospel according to Saint Luke* (trans. Í. M. Ní Riain; Dublin: Halcyon Press in association with Elo Publications, 2001), 158.

how “wisdom has been justified by her children.” In passing, he notes that many Greek copies read “works” and how this meaning is possible. Ambrose returns then to the theme of singing and dancing from v. 32 and explores a number of OT passages that refer to such celebration.

Luke 8:26 (see Matthew 8:28)

Luke 9:48

67. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 13.19

1: ἐστι(ν) 𝔓$^{45vid.75}$ ℵ B C L Ξ f^{1} 33. 579. 700. 1241. 2542 *pc* lat co; Or [NA]

2: ἔσται A D W Θ Ψ f^{13} 𝔐 e q; Or^{mss} Cyp

> ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτόν, »μικρότερός« ἐστιν »ἐν πᾶσι« τοῖς ᾿Ιησοῦ μαθηταῖς ἑαυτὸν σμικρύνων· ὅσον δὲ ἑαυτὸν σμικρύνει, τοσοῦτον γίνεται »μέγας« <ὑπ’> αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιτέλλοντος σμικρύνειν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιοῦντος ἐπιδιδόναι εἰς μέγεθος· πρόσχες γὰρ τῷ »ὁ μικρότερος ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχων, οὗτός ἐστι μέγας.« ἀνέγνωμεν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις »καὶ ἔσται μέγας«. (GCS, Or 10:233)

> But he who has received the little child, and the Saviour, and Him that sent Him, is least of all the disciples of Jesus, making himself little. But, so far as he belittles himself, to that extent does he become great; as that very thing, which caused him the more to make himself little, contributes to his advance in greatness; for attend to what is said, “He that is least among you all the same is great;” but in other manuscripts we read, “The same shall be great.” (ANF 9:486-87)

After considering the Matthean passage on who is greatest in the kingdom, Origen turns to the parallels in Mark and Luke. In the Lukan version, he especially emphasizes the phrase “in my name,” using this to equate the Father and the Son. As Origen turns to the last part of the verse, he first discusses what is required to become great, then quotes the Lukan text that the least among you “is great” and notes a variant that reads “will be

great." Without further comment on the variant, he cites Luke 18:17 and proceeds to examine how one approaches the kingdom as a child (whether the kingdom is like a child, or we approach as children).

Luke 11:13

68. Ambrose, *Spir.* 1.5.65-66

1: spiritum sanctum [πνεῦμα ἅγιον] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: bonum datum [ἀγαθὸν δόμα] D it (cf. Θ [a^2 sy^s])

> secundum Lucan autem invenies ita scriptum: *Quanto magis pater vester de caelo dabit spiritum sanctum petentibus se*. . . . Nec fallit quia nonnulli codices habent etiam secundum Lucan: *Quanto magis pater vester de caelo dabit bonum datum petentibus se.* (CSEL 79:42-43)
>
> But according to Luke you will find it written thus: 'How much more will your Father from heaven give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him?' . . . Nor does it escape us that some manuscripts also have according to Luke: 'How much more will your Father from heaven give a good gift to them that ask Him?' (FC 44:59)

Ambrose opens chapter 5 by discussing the grace of the Holy Spirit, which all await in order to be changed into children of God. He argues that while all creatures are therefore subject to change, the Holy Spirit does not change because it is always good. As evidence, he cites the parallel texts in Matthew and Luke, where "good gifts" (Matt 7:11) given by the Father are equated with the Holy Spirit (Luke 11:13). He notes the appearance of the Matthean reading in some MSS of Luke, which implicitly reinforces the point. Ambrose then turns to additional Scriptures that show how the "good gift" from the Father is spiritual grace, which Jesus poured out from heaven after he went to the cross. Ambrose does not make further use or mention of the variant.

Luke 14:19

69. Origen, *Fr. Luc.* 212

1: ἐρωτῶ σε [ἔχε με παρῃτημένον] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν ([διὸ οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν] D it; Or[mss])

> ὅθεν καὶ ἔν τισιν ἀντὶ τοῦ· >ἐρωτῶ σε< >καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν< κεῖται. οἱ γὰρ αἱρῶντες τὰ αἰσθητά φασι μὴ δύνασθαι ἀσώματον καταλαβεῖν. (GCS, Or 9:319)
>
> So, in some copies, instead of "I ask you," the words, "and for this reason I am unable to come," are found. For, those who chose sensible things say that they cannot grasp the incorporeal. (FC 94:213)

Origen is offering a spiritual exegesis of the parable of the banquet, explaining each excuse given by the invited guests in terms of spiritual or theological errors. In the matter of the man with five yoke of oxen, Origen describes this in terms of a spiritual/material dichotomy, this man being concerned only with material things. Origen adds an aside that some MSS contain a variant at this point, and he plays on the word "unable" in order to point out that such people are unable to understand spiritual things. He then moves forward with an exegesis of the man who excused himself because of his new bride, here defined as a semblance of Wisdom. Although in the previous section, Origen cited the first reading, "I ask you," as evidence that the invitees respect their host only in words, he offers no further commentary on either reading here, leaving the reader with a brief spiritual exegesis of each variant.

Luke 14:27

70. Jerome, *Ep.* 127.6

1: Nisi quis tulerit crucem suam cotidie et secutus fuerit me, non potest meus esse

discipulus [ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2*: *omit* Γ *al* vg^{ms} sy^{s} bo^{ms}

> Annis igitur plurimis sic suam transegit aetatem, ut ante se uetulam cerneret, quam adulescentulam fuisse meminisset, laudans illud Platonicum, qui philosophiam meditationem mortis esse dixisset. unde et noster apostolus: cotidie morior per uestram salutem et dominus iuxta antiqua exemplaria: nisi quis tulerit crucem suam cotidie et secutus fuerit me, non potest meus esse discipulus multoque ante per prophetam spiritus sanctus: propter te mortificamur tota die, aestimati sumus ut oues occisionis. . . . (CSEL 56:150)

> Marcella then lived the ascetic life for many years, and found herself old before she could consider that she had once been young. She often quoted with approval Plato's saying that philosophy consists in meditating on death. A truth which our own apostle endorses when he says: "for your salvation I die daily" [1 Cor 15:31]. Indeed according to the old copies our Lord himself says: "whosoever does not bear His cross daily and come after me cannot be my disciple" [Luke 14:27]. Ages before, the Holy Spirit had said by the prophet: "for your sake are we killed all the day long: we are counted as sheep for the slaughter" [Ps 44:22]. (NPNF 2.6:255 [modified])

Letter 127 is written to Principia in memory of her friend Marcella. As Jerome recounts her life and her virtues, especially her asceticism, he describes Marcella as upholding the principle of Plato and Paul to dwell on death, and therefore the rewards that it holds, as a way of life. In his scriptural catena on this point, Jerome cites Luke 14:27 as the source for the creed "take up your cross daily" (//Matt 10:38; cf. Matt 16:24//Mark 8:34//Luke 9:23). His statement that this verse is present in the oldest copies suggests he is aware of other MSS that omit the verse. Jerome then continues his chain of quotations with both biblical and classical sources before summarizing that

Marcella always lived as though some day she must die, and next passing on to discuss her avid study of Scripture.

Luke 22:36

71. Basil, *Asceticon*, *Shorter Responses* 251

1: ἀράτω (majority of witnesses)

2: ἀρεῖ D[59]

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ ΣΝΑʹ.

Πῶς ποτὲ μὲν ἀπαγορεύει ὁ Κύριος βαστάζειν βαλάντιον καὶ πήραν εἰς ὁδὸν, ποτὲ δὲ λέγει· « Ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁ ἔχων βαλάντιον ἀράτω ὁμοίως καὶ πήραν· καὶ ὁ μὴ ἔχων, πωλησάτω τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγορασάτω μάχαιραν. »

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

Τοῦτο σαφηνίζει αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος εἰπὼν ὅτι, Δεῖ γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτο τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ, Καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη. Αὐτίκα γὰρ μετὰ τό πληρωθῆναι τὴν περὶ τῆς μαχαίρας προφητείαν λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· Ἀπόστρεψον τὴν μάχαιράν σου εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς· πάντες γὰρ οἱ λαβόντες μάχαιραν, ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἀπολοῦνται. ὡς μὴ εἶναι πρόσταγμα, Ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁ ἔχων βαλάντιον, ἀράτω, ἤτοι ἀρεῖ (οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔχει), ἀλλὰ προφητείαν προλέγοντος τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅτι ἔμελλον οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐπιλανθανόμενοι τῶν δωρεῶν καὶ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ξίφους κατατολμᾷν. Καὶ ὅτι τῷ προστακτικῷ εἴδει τοῦ λόγου ἀντὶ προφητικοῦ πολλάκις κέχρηται ἡ Γραφὴ, πολλαχόθεν δῆλον, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ, Γενηθήτωσαν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ὀρφανοί· καὶ, Διάβολος στήτω ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. (PG 31:1249, 1252)[60]

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[59] See Swanson; this variant does not appear in NA. Eberhard Nestle uses this verse as an example of why such testimony of the fathers is valuable: "Some surprising facts are brought to light by such quotations. Witness the remark made by Basil the Great . . . on Luke xxii. 36, who tells us that in Cappadocia in his time many manuscripts, indeed, if the text is correct the majority of manuscripts . . . , exhibited a reading now found in only one single manuscript, and that the main representative of the 'Western' text; I refer here to Codex Bezae" (*Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* [trans. W. Edie; 1901; repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2001], 340). In his translation, Clarke therefore points out the implications: "We are tempted to conclude that the Western text had once been dominant in Asia Minor but was superseded by an official text" (*The Ascetic Works of St. Basil* [trans. W. K. L. Clarke; London: SPCK, 1925], 322 n. 4).

[60] The printed PG edition has a few mistakes in the accents, so the version here follows the corrections in the TLG database. Basil's *Asceticon* has a long and complicated textual history, which is perhaps one reason why (as of 2005) no critical edition has been attempted. Anna Silvas's translation is based on a comparison of MSS, the history and relationship of which she summarizes in her introduction

> *Q*: **How is it that in one place the Lord forbids us to *carry a purse or wallet* for *the way* (cf. Luke 10:4), while in another place he says: *But now, whoever has a purse, let him take it and likewise a wallet and whoever does not have*** *one* (a sword), ***let him sell his cloak and buy a sword?* (Luke 22:36)**
> *R*: **1 The Lord himself clarifies this where he said: *For there must be fulfilled in me what is written: 'he was reckoned among the wicked'* (cf. Luke 22:37; Isa. 53:12). 2 For as soon as the prophecy about the sword is fulfilled, he says to Peter (cf. John 18:10): *Put your sword back in its scabbard; for all who take up the sword shall perish by the sword* (Matt. 26:52). 3 This was in order that the saying: *now, whoever has a purse let him take it***—or rather, *will take it*, for so most copies have it **(Luke 22:36)[61]—might not** (appear to) **be a command, but a prophecy** of the Lord **foretelling** (what was to happen) **that the apostles would forget the gifts and the law of the Lord and take up the sword. 4 Morever** [sic] it is clear from many passages **that the Scripture often uses the imperative mood of speech for the prophetic, 5 as in that saying: *Let his children become orphans* (Ps. 108:9) and *Let an accuser stand at his right hand* (Ps. 108:6), and many similar passages.** (Silvas)[62]

Following a question about casting pearls before swine (Matt 7:6; *Shorter Response* 250), Basil replies to this question (251) about apparently contradictory texts that refer to whether or not to take a purse, and with it a sword. Basil answers by first addressing the sword, which he takes to be a fulfilled prophecy about Peter (cf. Matt 26:52). He repeats Luke 22:36 from the question, both times using the imperative

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(*The Asketikon of St Basil the Great* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], 1-18). For a fuller treatment of the various MSS, see J. Gribomont, *Histoire du Texte des Ascétiques de S. Basile* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 32; Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1953), 151-274; and Paul Jonathan Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 3:1-298.

[61] Silvas adds in a footnote here: "Two codices have the future ἀρεῖ, i.e. tollet, which makes every sense in the context, but it is not in the Latin codices or in most other Greek codices" (*Asketikon of St Basil*, 410 n. 703).

[62] Silvas, *Asketikon of St Basil*, 409-10. She explains her use of bold and italics (p. 17): "1. **Bold text:** text considered common to both the Small Asketikon (through the *RBas.*) and the Great Asketikon. 2. Plain text: later text found *only* in the Great Asketikon. 3. (Text in parentheses): Rufinus' glosses of his original *text*, i.e. the lost Greek Small Asketikon. 4. Sans serif text: text of the Small Asketikon preserved *only* in the *RBas.*, either (1) absolutely, or (2) text so heavily re-edited and dispersed in the Great Asketikon, that it merits being considered original text in its own right" (*RBas. = Basili Regula: A Rufino Latine Versa* [ed. K. Zelzer; CSEL 86; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1986]). What is notable here is that the mention of the variant appears in plain text, and therefore is "later text found *only* in the Great Asketikon." Silvas dates the Small Asceticon (i.e., the first edition of the *Asceticon*) to 365/6 and describes the Great Asceticon as more of a process of accretion rather than a single edition, so that by Basil's death in 379 there were three concurrent recensions of this expanded version in circulation.

ἀράτω, and then he adds that most MSS actually have the future indicative, ἀρεῖ. (Based on the reconstructed history of the *Asceticon* [see n. 62] and the immediate context, it is possible that Basil's comment about the variant was an afterthought added in a later revision of the work, at which time he did not update his comments to show a preference for this majority reading.) Despite this reference to the bulk of the witnesses, however, Basil appears to retain the minority reading, his lemma, and explains the use of the imperative mood in prophecy to reinforce his interpretation of the verse. After this, he moves on to the next question (252), about the phrase "Give us this day our daily bread" in the Lord's prayer.

Luke 22:43-44

72. Anastasius Abbot of Sinai, *Viae Dux* 22.3

1: *include* ℵ^{*,2} D L Θ Ψ 0171 f^{1} 𝔐 lat sy$^{c.p.h}$ bo^{pt}; Ju Ir Hipp Eus Hier^{mss} [NA, UBS, Metzger (in double square brackets)]

2: *omit* 𝔓^{75} ℵ^{1} A B N T W 579. 1071*. *l* 844 *pc* f sy^{s} sa bo^{pt}; Hier^{mss} [f^{13}]

> Κἂν γὰρ μιᾶς ἢ καὶ δευτέρας γλώττης ἐπεχείρησέ τις νοθεῦσαι τὰ βιβλία, ἠλέγχετο εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἑβδομήκοντα γλωσσῶν ἡ ῥαδιουργία αὐτοῦ. Ὅρα γοῦν, ὅτι τινὲς ἐπεχείρησαν παρεπᾶραι τοὺς θρόμβους τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἱδρῶτος Χριστοῦ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίου καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν. Ἐλέγχονται γὰρ τὰ μὴ ἔχοντα τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων εὐαγγελίων ἐχόντων αὐτό· ἐν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς εὐαγγελίοις κεῖται καὶ ἑλληνικοῖς πλείστοις. (CCSG 8:297)

> For even if someone attempts to adulterate the books of one or even two tongues, immediately his fraud is disproved by the other seventy tongues. At any rate, be aware that some attempted to delete the drops of blood, the sweat of Christ, from the Gospel of Luke and were not able. For those lacking the section are disproved by many and various gospels having it; for in all the gospels of the nations it remains and in most of the Greek.

Pointing out the importance of Scripture to the Christian faith, Anastasius stresses the difficulty of altering the text because of the variety of languages into which it has been translated. As an example of this, he cites the passage in Luke concerning the drops of blood sweated by Christ, for a great number of versions and Greek MSS that contain the passage stand in witness against those that lack it.

73. Epiphanius, *Anc.* 31.4-5

1: *include* (see above)

2: *omit*

> ἀλλὰ καὶ »ἔκλαυσε«, <ὡς> κεῖται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίῳ ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθώτοις ἀντιγράφοις, ––καὶ κέχρηται τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ ὁ ἅγιος Εἰρηναῖος ἐν τῷ κατὰ αἱρέσεων πρὸς τοὺς δοκήσει τὸν Χριστὸν πεφηνέναι λέγοντας, ὀρθόδοξοι δὲ ἀφείλαντο τὸ ῥητόν, φοβηθέντες καὶ μὴ νοήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον––καὶ »γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἵδρωσε, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡς θρόμβοι αἵματος, καὶ ὤφθη ἄγγελος ἐνισχύων αὐτόν«. (GCS, Epi 1:40)
>
> But also "he wept," (as) lies in the Gospel according to Luke in the unrevised copies—and the holy Irenaeus used this in *Against Heresies* [3.22.2] in witness to those saying Christ appeared merely in spirit, but the orthodox have removed the passage, since they feared and did not know his end and greatest strength—and "having been in agony, he sweat, and his sweat became as drops of blood, and an angel appeared, strengthening him" [Luke 22:44, 43].

Epiphanius is arguing against the heretics who would deny the humanity and physical existence of Jesus. He cites several Scriptures that address the physical experiences of the Savior, such as Isa 50:6. He then quotes the example that "Jesus wept," repeating Luke 19:41, but apparently bringing to mind as well (or instead, if Epiphanius is confusing the two passages) Luke 22:41-44. He refers to this text being present in the uncorrected or unrevised copies of Luke and points to Irenaeus as further testimony to the verses. Epiphanius determines that vv. 43-44 were original but later

removed by orthodox believers who misunderstood the passage, since they did not recognize that it emphasizes Jesus's strength rather than weakness. Epiphanius paraphrases rather than quotes the verses, rearranging their order. He then immediately passes on to John 11:34 and further citations in support of his point.

74. Hilary, *Trin.* 10.41

1: *include* (see above)

2: *omit*

> Nec sane ignorandum a nobis est, et in graecis et in latinis codicibus conplurimis uel de adeuniente angelo uel de sudore sanguinis nihil scribtum repperiri. Ambigentes, utrum hoc in libris uariis aut desit aut superfluum sit — incertum enim hoc nobis relinquitur de diuersitate librorum —, certe si quid sibi ex hoc heresis blanditur . . . meminerit creatorem angelorum creationis suae non eguisse praesidio. . . . (SC 462:234, 236)

> We must not, of course, overlook the fact that we find nothing in writing about the coming of the angel and the bloody sweat in very many of the Latin and Greek manuscripts. Since a doubt arises, therefore, whether this is wanting in the various books or is an extraneous addition (the variation in the books leaves us in uncertainty about this question), then, if heresy seeks to derive some advantage from this fact . . . let it bear in mind that the creator of the angels does not need the assistance of His own creature. . . . (FC 25:429 [modified])

Hilary is discussing Jesus's prayer in Gethsemane and comments that after reproving the disciples twice, Jesus finally allows them to sleep, no longer needing their support because an angel then appears to strengthen him. Hilary then notes that the angel is not mentioned in the Synoptic accounts, nor does this passage appear in many Greek and Latin MSS. This, then, places the text in doubt. Out of concern that heretics might abuse this passage, Hilary argues that Jesus did not need to be strengthened by the angel for his own sake but for ours, and therefore this was not a sign of weakness. While he does show awareness that the text is questionable, Hilary accepts it as legitimate.

75. Jerome, *Pelag.* 2.16

1: *include* (see above)

2*: *omit*

> In quibusdam exemplaribus tam Graecis quam Latinis inuenitur, scribente Luca: *Apparuit illi angelus de caelo confortans eum,* haud dubium quin Dominum Saluatorem. *Et factus in agonia prolixius orabat, factusque est sudor eius sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram*. Saluator in passione ab angelo confortatur et Critobulus meus non indiget auxilio Dei, habens liberi arbitrii potestatem; et tam uehementer orabat, ut guttae sanguinis ex parte prorumperent, quem totum erat in passione fusurus. (CCSL 80:75)

> In some copies, Greek as well as Latin, the following words are found written by Luke: 'There appeared to him an angel from heaven to strengthen him,' (referring, undoubtedly, to the Lord, Savior). 'And falling into an agony, he prayed the more earnestly. And his sweat became as drops of blood running down upon the ground.' The Savior is strengthened in His agony by an angel, and my good friend, Critobulus, does not need the help of God, for he possesses the power of the free will. And He prayed so earnestly that drops of blood gushed forth, which He was to shed in full measure in His Passion. (FC 53:320)

Jerome, in answer to the Pelagian Critobulus (the opponent in this dialogue), is addressing the issue of why prayer is necessary if we are to do everything by exercise of free will. He cites these verses from Luke, acknowledging that they appear only in some copies (both Greek and Latin), to point out that even Jesus prayed for strength, reinforcing from the context that Jesus prayed also for Peter to bolster his faith. Jerome says nothing more about the variant and shortly concludes this point to pass on to a discussion of John 5.

Luke 23:45

76. Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 134

1: καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος A C^3 (D) W Θ Ψ $f^{1.13}$ 𝔐 lat sy; $\text{Mcion}^{\text{Evid}}$ $\text{Or}^{\text{lat mss}}$

2: τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος $𝔓^{75*}$ א $C^{*\text{vid}}$ L 070. 579. 2542 *pc* sy^{hmg}; $\text{Or}^{\text{lat mss}}$ (cf. $𝔓^{75c}$ B; C^2) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> dicimus ergo, quoniam Matthaeus et Marcus non dixerunt defectionem solis tunc factam fuisse, sed neque Lucas, secundum pleraque exemplaria habentia sic: »et erat hora fere sexta et tenebrae factae sunt super omnem terram usque ad horam nonam, et obscuratus est sol«. in quibusdam autem exemplariis non habetur: »tenebrae factae sunt et obscuratus est sol«; sed ita: »tenebrae factae sunt super omnem terram sole deficiente«. et forsitan ausus est aliquis (quasi manifestius aliquid dicere volens) pro: »et obscuratus est sol«, ponere: »deficiente sole«, aestimans quod non aliter potuissent fieri tenebrae nisi »sole deficiente«. Puto autem magis, quoniam insidiatores ecclesiae Christi mutaverunt hoc verbum, quoniam »tenebrae factae sunt sole deficiente«, ut verisimiliter evangelia argui possint secundum adinventiones volentium arguere ea. (GCS, Or 11:274)

> We say then that Matthew and Mark have not stated that an eclipse occurred at that time. Neither did Luke according to very many copies, which have, And it was about the sixth hour, and a darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour; and the sun was darkened. In some copies however the words, And the sun was darkened, do not occur, but, There was darkness over all the land, the sun being eclipsed. Possibly some one in the desire to make the statement more plain made bold to place, The sun being eclipsed, in the place of, And the sun was darkened, believing that the darkness could not have happened except by reason of an eclipse. Yet I rather believe that the secret enemies of the church of Christ have altered this phrase, making the darkness occur by reason of 'The sun being eclipsed', so that the Gospels might be attacked with some show of reason, through the devices of those who wished to attack them. (Tollinton)[63]

In his discussion of the crucifixion in Matthew and the darkness covering the land, Origen compares the Synoptic accounts. He notes the reading in Luke, which explains that the sun went dark, and the variant reading that specifies an eclipse. Origen sees the latter as a secondary reading, probably an intentional change to clarify the

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[63] *Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen* (trans. R. B. Tollinton; London: SPCK, 1929), 117.

meaning. He speculates, however, that the change may have been more malicious, made by opponents of the church who were trying to remove the supernatural element from the crucifixion.

John 1:4

77. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 2.19(13) [2.131-132]

1: ἦν (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: ἐστιν א D it vg^mss sa?; Ptol^Ir Ir^lat Cl^pt Or^mss

> ὃν τρόπον τοίνυν »πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο«, καὶ οὐχὶ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἦν, καὶ »χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν«, οὐχὶ δὲ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἦν οὐδὲ ἕν, οὕτως ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, οὐχὶ ὃ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, ζωὴ ἦν. καὶ πάλιν οὐχὶ ὃ ἐγένετο ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ λόγος ἦν, ἀλλὰ ὃ ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγος ἦν. τινὰ μέντοι γε τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔχει, καὶ τάχα οὐκ ἀπιθάνως· »Ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωή ἐστιν«. (GCS, Or 4:76)

> As, therefore, "all things *were made* through him," not, all things *were* through him, and, "without him nothing *was made*," not, without him nothing *was*, so "what *was made* in him," not what *was* in him, "was life." And again, not what *was made* in the beginning was the Word, but what *was* in the beginning was the Word. Some copies, however, have, and perhaps not without credibility, "What was made in him is life." (FC 80:129)

Origen is discussing the relation of the Word, light, and life, according to John 1. He distinguishes that whereas the Word already existed in the beginning, having not been created, life followed after (proceeding from the Word), and the light of humans could only exist in relation to humanity, and thus only once humanity was created. Origen therefore makes a distinction between what was made, and what was. He then notes a variant that states "what was made was life in him," and he allows for the possibility that this reading is valid. From this brief point, he passes on to expand on the relationship of life and the light of humans.

John 1:28

78. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 17

1: Βηθανίᾳ (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: Βηθαβαρᾷ C^{2} K T Ψ^{c} 083 *f*$^{1.13}$ 33 *pm* sy$^{s.c}$ sa; Or [Βηθαραβᾷ ℵ^{2} 892^{vl} *pc* (sy^{hmg})]

> Πῶς οὖν τοῦτο ποιεῖ; Ἐπάγων καὶ λέγων· *Ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἐν Βηθανίᾳ.* Ὅσα δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἀκριβέστερον ἔχει, *Ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ,* φησίν. Ἡ γὰρ Βηθανία οὐχὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐγγύς που τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. (PG 59:107)
>
> How then does he do this? By adding, "These things happened in Bethany." But as many of the more accurate copies have, "in Bethabara," it says. For Bethany is not beyond the Jordan, nor was it in the desert, but somewhere near the environs of Jerusalem.
>
> Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐν Βηθαβαρὰ περιέχει· ἡ γὰρ Βηθανία οὐχὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἀλλ' ἐγγύς που τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. (Cramer, 2:190-91)[64]
>
> But it is necessary to know that the accurate copies contain "in Bethabara"; for Bethany is not beyond the Jordan, but somewhere near the environs of Jerusalem.

In his commentary on John 1:28-29, Chrysostom states that the evangelist pointed out the location of the Baptist's ministry to show that it was a public event. The discussion of the variant is a parenthetical comment. However, while Chrysostom prefers "Bethabara" based on the more correct copies, he retains "Bethany" as the base text. He then explains further the significance of the evangelist's mentioning the specific location, as part of the witness to Christ, before moving on to v. 29.

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[64] This anonymous scholion in Cramer is part of an extended paraphrase from John Chrysostom's *Homilies on John*, so it is included here rather than as a separate entry.

79. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 51.13.1

1: Βηθαβαρᾶ (see above)

2: Βηθανίᾳ

> Καὶ ὅτε διήγηται ταῦτα πάντα, λέγει »ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἐν Βηθαβαρᾶ«· ἐν δὲ ἄλλοις ἀντιγράφοις »ἐν Βηθανίᾳ πέραν τοῦ ᾽Ιορδάνου«. (GCS, Epi 2:265)
>
> And when he describes all this he says, "These things were done in Bethabara"—"Bethany" in other copies—"beyond Jordan." (Williams, 2:37)

Epiphanius is describing John's witness to Jesus as existing before his human birth and launches into a lengthy quotation from John 1. He then points out where John said these things happened, in Bethabara, mentioning only parenthetically that some copies read "Bethany." No further explanation is given for the variant or the location itself as Epiphanius then continues to recount further portions of John 1.

80. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.40(24) [6.204-207]

1: Βηθαβαρᾷ (see above)

2: Βηθανίᾳ

> Ταῦτα ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ ἐγένετο πέραν τοῦ ᾽Ιορδάνου, ὅπου ἦν ᾽Ιωάννης βαπτίζων. Ὅτι μὲν σχεδὸν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις κεῖται· »Ταῦτα ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο« οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν, καὶ ἔοικεν τοῦτο καὶ ἔτι πρότερον γεγονέναι· καὶ παρὰ Ἡρακλέωνι γοῦν »Β η θ α ν ί α ν« ἀνέγνωμεν. ἐπείσθημεν δὲ μὴ δεῖν »Βηθανίᾳ« ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀλλὰ »Βηθαβαρᾷ«, γενόμενοι ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐπὶ ἱστορίαν τῶν ἰχνῶν ᾽Ιησοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. Βηθανία γάρ, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς εὐαγγελιστής φησιν, ἡ πατρὶς Λαζάρου καὶ Μάρθας καὶ Μαρίας. ἀπέχει τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους δέκα πέντε· ἧς πόρρω ἐστὶν ὁ ᾽Ιορδάνης ποταμὸς ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων πλατεῖ λόγῳ ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ὁμώνυμος τῇ Βηθανίᾳ τόπος ἐστὶν περὶ τὸν ᾽Ιορδάνην· δείκνυσθαι δὲ λέγουσι παρὰ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ᾽Ιορδάνου τὰ Βηθαβαρᾶ, ἔνθα ἱστοροῦσιν τὸν ᾽Ιωάννην βεβαπτικέναι. ἔστιν τε ἡ ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀκόλουθος τῷ βαπτίσματι τοῦ ἑτοιμάζοντος κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον· μεταλαμβάνεται γὰρ εἰς >οἶκον κατασκευῆς<, ἡ δὲ Βηθανία εἰς >οἶκον ὑπακοῆς<. ποῦ γὰρ ἀλλαχόσε ἐχρῆν βαπτίζειν τὸν

ἀποσταλέντα ἄγγελον πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ χριστοῦ, κατασκευάσαι τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, ἢ εἰς τὸν >τῆς κατασκευῆς οἶκον<; ποία δὲ οἰκειοτέρα πατρὶς τῇ τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐκλεξαμένῃ μὴ ἀφαιρουμένην αὐτῆς Μαριὰμ καὶ τῇ περισπωμένῃ διὰ τὴν Ἰησοῦ ὑποδοχὴν Μάρθᾳ καὶ τῷ τούτων ἀδελφῷ φίλῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰρημένῳ Λαζάρῳ, ἢ Βηθανία >ὁ τῆς ὑπακοῆς οἶκος<; (GCS, Or 4:149-50)

"These things were done in Bethabara, beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing." We are aware of the reading which is found in almost all the copies, "These things were done in Bethany." This appears, moreover, to have been the reading at an earlier time; and in Heracleon we read "Bethany." We are convinced, however, that we should not read "Bethany," but "Bethabara." We have visited the places to enquire as to the footsteps of Jesus and His disciples, and of the prophets. Now, Bethany, as the same evangelist tells us, was the town of Lazarus, and of Martha and Mary; it is fifteen stadia from Jerusalem, and the river Jordan is about a hundred and eighty stadia distant from it. Nor is there any other place of the same name in the neighbourhood of the Jordan, but they say that Bethabara is pointed out on the banks of the Jordan, and that John is said to have baptized there. The etymology of the name, too, corresponds with the baptism of him who made ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him; for it yields the meaning "House of preparation," while Bethany means "House of obedience." Where else was it fitting that he should baptize, who was sent as a messenger before the face of the Christ, to prepare His way before Him, but at the House of preparation? And what more fitting home for Mary, who chose the good part, which was not taken away from her, and for Martha, who was cumbered for the reception of Jesus, and for their brother, who is called the friend of the Saviour, than Bethany, the House of obedience? (ANF 9:370-71)

In his discussion of John 1, Origen pauses at v. 28 to note the variant and explain which is the correct reading. He explains his knowledge of the geography of the area in question, then comments on the etymology of the two names. Despite the preponderance of external evidence for "Bethany," Origen prefers "Bethabara" based on these arguments. This discussion prompts him to mention other instances of Semitic names where he believes the Greek text is in error, beginning with an exposition of Matt 8:28 parr. and the variants found there (see §21, above).

John 3:6

81. Ambrose, *Spir.* 3.10.59

(See Additional Texts.)

John 3:34

82. Origen, *Fr. Jo.* 48

1*: ἐκ μέτρου (majority of witnesses)

2: ἐκ μέρους U 12 40 63 238 253[65]

> φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ἀντιγράφοις· »Οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέρους δίδωσι τὸ πνεῦμα« σημαινούσης καὶ ταύτης τῆς γραφῆς μὴ μέτροις <προσ>έχειν τὸν ἀποσταλέντα, ὥστε πεφεισμένως καὶ ἐκ μέρους παρέχειν καὶ εὐαριθμήτοις τισίν, ἀλλὰ δαψιλῶς καὶ πλουσίως πᾶσι τοῖς εὑρισκομένοις τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξίοις. (GCS, Or 4:523)
>
> But it reads also in other copies, "For not in part does he give the spirit," yet even this Scripture indicates the one who was sent does not offer it in measure, so that he gives sparingly and "in part" and to a select few, but he offers it abundantly and richly to all those who are found worthy to receive.

This fragmentary portion of Origen's commentary on John begins with his referring to the reading "in part." He cites Acts 2:17 (quoting Joel) as evidence that God has poured out his Spirit on everyone. This supports John 3:34, stating that John does not distribute the Spirit only "in part." In the same way, he interprets John 13:32, pointing out that it was not that the testimony concerning Christ was not available to all through the law and the prophets, but only those who carefully studied the Scriptures could recognize him and thus acknowledge the testimony (as in John 1:45). Origen then returns to John 3:34, noting that additional copies contain the reading "in part," but even this reading has the same meaning as the variant "in measure" (this variant being alluded to

[65] Cf. Swanson; Metzger, "Explicit References," 88. This variant does not appear in NA.

rather than quoted explicitly), showing that Jesus is not stingy in distributing the Spirit but offers it freely to those who are deserving to receive it.

John 4:5

83. Jerome, *Qu. hebr. Gen.* 48:22

1: Sychem [Συχέμ] sy$^{s.c}$

2: Sychar [Συχάρ] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> Sicima iuxta graecam et latinam consuetudinem declinata est, alioquin hebraice Sychem dicitur, ut Iohannes quoque euangelista testatur, licet uitiose, ut Sychar legatur, error inoleuit: et est nunc Neapolis urbs Samaritanorum. (CCSL 72:52)
>
> According to Greek and Latin usage, [the noun] Sicima is declined. But in Hebrew it is pronounced Sichem, as also the Evangelist John bears witness, although an error has grown up and it is read in a defective manner as Sichar. And today it is Neapolis, the city of the Samaritans. (Hayward)[66]

After citing Gen 48:22, Jerome begins his commentary by explaining the Hebrew pronunciation of Sychem (Shechem), as evidenced by John 4:5. In passing, he notes that there is an error in the MS tradition, ending the name with r instead of m (although, it is not clear if Jerome knows of MSS that read Sychem, or if it is merely his conjecture that John originally wrote Sychem and the MSS have since been corrupted to read Sychar). He continues by explaining that the meaning of Sychem in Hebrew yields a play on words in the context, and then he turns to explaining the rest of the verse.

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[66] *Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (trans. C. T. R. Hayward ; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 82.

John 7:53-8:11

84. Augustine, *Adult. conj.* 2.7.6

1: *include* (after 7:52) D 𝔐 lat bo^{pt}; Hier^{mss} (*cum obel.* S 1424^{mg} *al, cum obel. ab* 8,2 *vl* 8,3 E Λ *al*); (*add.* 7,53 *vl* 8,3 sqq *p.* 7,36 225, *p.* 21,25 f^{1}, *p.* L 21,38 f^{13}, *p.* L 24,53 1333*) [NA, UBS, Metzger (in double square brackets)]

2: *omit* 𝔓$^{66.75}$ א A^{vid} B C^{vid} L N T W Δ Θ Ψ 0141. 0211. 33. 565. 1241. 1333^{txt}. 1424*. 2768 *al* a f l q sy sa ac^{2} pbo bo^{pt}; Or Hier^{mss}

> Sed hoc uidelicet infidelium sensus exhorret, ita ut nonnulli modicae fidei uel potius inimici uerae fidei, credo, metuentes peccandi inpunitatem dari mulieribus suis, illud, quod de adulterae indulgentia dominus fecit, auferrent de codicibus suis, quasi permissionem peccandi tribuerit qui dixit: iam deinceps noli peccare, aut ideo non debuerit mulier a medico deo illius peccati remissione sanari, ne offenderentur insani. (CSEL 41:387-88)

> However, the pagan mind obviously shrinks from this comparison, so that some men of slight faith, or, rather, some hostile to true faith, fearing, as I believe, that liberty to sin with impunity is granted their wives, remove from their Scriptural texts the account of our Lord’s pardon of the adulteress, as though He who said: ‘From now on, sin no more,’ granted permission to sin, or as though the woman should not have been cured by the Divine Physician by the remission of that sin, so as not to offend others who are equally unclean. (FC 27:107-8)

Augustine is discussing adultery and the necessity of reconciling with the repentant spouse who has been redeemed by the blood of the new covenant. He points out, however, that pagans and those of weak faith or hostile to the faith cannot easily accept this teaching, and so some of them remove the account of the adulterous woman from their texts, fearing that the woman’s pardon from punishment would be taken by some as license to sin. Augustine emphasizes that the woman was completely forgiven by the Divine Physician, and thus healed from her sin, and told to sin no more. Therefore, those who fear the teaching of this passage are no better than the accusers

whom Jesus addressed, so they should likewise consider their own sin and the mercy of God that has spared them from their own punishment.

85. Didymus, *Comm. Eccl.* 7:21-22

1*: *omit* (see above)

2: *include*

> φέρομεν οὖν ἔν τισιν εὐαγγελίοις· γυνή, φησίν, κατεκρίθη ὑπὸ τῶν ᾿Ιουδ[αί]ων ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ ἀπεστέλλετο λιθοβοληθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὅπου εἰώθει γίν[εσθ]αι. ὁ σωτήρ, φησίν, ἑωρακὼς αὐτὴν καὶ θεωρήσας ὅτι ἕτοιμοί εἰσιν πρὸς τὸ λιθ[οβολ]ῆσαι αὐτήν, τοῖς μέλλουσιν αὐτὴν καταβαλεῖν λίθοις εἶπεν· "ὃς οὐχ ἥμαρτεν, αἰ[ρέ]τω λίθον καὶ βαλέτω {ε}αὐτόν." εἴ τις σύνοιδεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ μὴ ἡμαρτηκέναι, λαβὼν λίθον παισάτω αὐτήν. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν· ἐπιστήσαντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ γνόντες, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπε[ύθυ]νοί εἰσίν τισιν, οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν <καταπταῖσαι> ἐκείνην. (Kramer and Krebber)[67]
>
> Therefore we have in some gospels: A woman, it says, was accused by the J[ew]s for a sin, and they sent her to be stoned in the place where it usually hap[pen]ed. The savior, it says, having seen her and noticed that they were prepared to st[on]e her, said to those about to cast stones at her, "Whoever has not sinned, let him t[ake] up a stone and throw it." If anyone considered himself not to have sinned, let him take a stone and make sport of her. And no one dared; since they knew themselves well and understood that they were also answerable for certain things, they did not dare <to take> that woman <down>.

In his discussion of Eccl 7:21-22 (regarding a servant cursing the master), Didymus is led to the discussion of masters and servants in Ephesians 6. He then mentions that in some copies of the Gospels[68] there is an account about Jesus and a woman accused by the Jews, and he proceeds to paraphrase the pericope. This bridges the two verses under discussion, leading into Didymus's repetition of Eccl 7:22, which

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[67] *Didymos der Blinde: Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes (Tura-Papyrus)* (ed. J. Kramer and B. Krebber; Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 16; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1972), 4:88.

[68] This is the most likely meaning of Didymus's reference to "some gospels," although it is also possible that he is referring to multiple Gospels rather than multiple copies of one Gospel since the pericope has been found at various locations in both John and Luke.

states that, just like the servant who has cursed the master, the master is not innocent of having committed sins against others.

86. Euthymius Zigabenus, *Comm. on the Gospels*, John 7:52

1: *include* (see above)

2: *omit*

> Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἄχρι τοῦ, Πάλιν οὖν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· παρὰ τοῖς ἀκριβέσιν ἀντιγράφοις ἢ οὐχ εὕρηται ἢ ὠβέλισται. Διὸ φαίνονται παρέγγραπτα καὶ προσθήκη· καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον τὸ μηδὲ τὸν Χρυσόστομον ὅλως μνημονεῦσαι αὐτῶν. Πειρατέον δὲ ὅμως ἡμῖν καὶ ταῦτα διασαφῆσαι· οὐκ ἄμοιρον γὰρ ὠφελείας οὐδὲ τὸ ἐν τούτοις κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένης γυναικός. (PG 129:1280)
>
> But it is necessary to know that from there until "Then, again, Jesus spoke to them, saying, 'I am the light of the world,'" among the accurate copies is neither found nor obelized. Wherefore these words appear written alongside the text and as an addition; and the proof of this is that Chrysostom does not remember them at all. But nevertheless we must attempt to elucidate even these things; for the section in these texts concerning the woman caught in adultery is not without benefit.

Euthymius comments after his notes on John 7:52 that the passage found between here and 8:12 is absent from the most accurate copies, where it is not even present as an obelized (spurious) passage. In such texts, the passage has to be added in the margin. As additional external evidence, it is pointed out that John Chrysostom himself seems ignorant of the passage. Regardless of this, Euthymius considers the passage to have value and proceeds to comment upon it.

87. Jerome, *Pelag.* 2.17

1: *include* (see above)

2*: *omit*

> In Euangelio secundum Iohannem in multis et Graecis et Latinis codicibus inuenitur de adultera muliere, quae accusata est apud Dominum. Accusabant autem et uehementer urgebant Scribae et Pharisaei, iuxta legem eam lapidare cupientes. (CCSL 80:76)
>
> In the Gospel according to John, there is found in many both Greek and Latin copies the story of the adulteress who was accused in the presence of the Lord. Moreover, the Scribes and Pharisees kept accusing her and kept earnestly pressing the case, for they wished to stone her to death, according to the law. (FC 53:321-22 [modified])

Following his mention of the variant in Luke 22:43-44 (see §75, above), Jerome turns to John 5:30 and argues that even Jesus, to emphasize his humanity, could do nothing of himself but only by the help of the Father. Jerome addresses the accusation of Porphyry that when Jesus said he was not going to the festival and then did so (John 7:10), he was being fickle, by pointing out that all such foibles must be assigned to Jesus's human nature. In the same way, only humans are guilty of their inability to follow the law, not the one who gave the law. Jerome then notes that in many Greek and Latin MSS is included a story of a woman about to be punished for adultery, according to the law. Without further comment on the authenticity of the passage, Jerome offers an exegesis of the pericope, recounting and quoting much of it, to reinforce that, like the woman's accusers, all are sinners. He then continues with the point that Jesus says in John 17 that he guarded them all, not that they were all given free will to guard themselves.

John 12:28

88. Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. Jo.* 12:28

1: σου τὸ ὄνομα (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: σου τὸν υἱόν L X *f*$^{1.13}$ 33. 579. 1241. *l* 2211 *pc* vg^{mss} sy^{hmg} bo

> Αἰτεῖ δὲ τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸ τῆς εὐχῆς σχῆμα διατυποῖ, οὐχ ὡς ἀδυνατῶν ὁ πάντα ἰσχύων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπος τὰ μείζω ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἀπονέμων τῇ θείᾳ φύσει, οὐκ ἔξω ὢν ταύτης, ὅταν καλῇ τὸν Πατέρα τὸν ἴδιον, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ὅτι διὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ ἥξει ἡ ἐν παντὶ πράγματι δύναμις καὶ δόξα. εἴτε δέ Δόξασόν σου τὸν Υἱὸν ἔχει ἡ γραφὴ, εἴτε Δόξασόν σου τὸ ὄνομα, ταὐτόν ἐστι τῇ τῶν θεωρημάτων ἀκριβείᾳ. ὅμως ὁ Χριστὸς καταφρονήσας τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ παθεῖν αἰσχύνης, μόνα δὲ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ παθεῖν σκοπῶν κατορθώματα, καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω ἐκ μέσου βαδίζοντα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς τὸν ἁπάντων θάνατον βλέπων . . . (Pusey)[69]

> He then makes a request of His Father and exhibits the outward appearance of prayer, not as being weak in respect of that Nature which is Almighty, but in respect of His Manhood, ascribing to the Divine Nature those attributes that are superhuman; not implying that the Divine Nature was something external to Himself, since He calls God His own Father, but in full consciousness that universal power and glory would be the lot of both Father and Son. And whether the text has: *Glorify Thy Son*, or: *Glorify Thy Name*, makes no difference in the exact significance of the ideas conveyed. Christ however, despising death and the shame of suffering, looking only to the objects to be achieved by the suffering, and almost beholding the death of all mankind already passing out of sight as an effect of the death of His Own Flesh . . . (Randell)[70]

Cyril refers to Jesus's troubled spirit in John 12:27, then turns to Jesus's request of the Father in v. 28. Cyril is careful to note that it is Jesus's human nature, not divine nature, that is displaying this moment of weakness. Cyril emphasizes in this also Jesus's address to his "Father" and therefore the relationship between the Father and the Son. Before discussing the appeal to "glorify," Cyril notes that there are two readings, "your

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[69] *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium* (ed. P. E. Pusey; 3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1872), 1:318-19.

[70] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel according to S. John*, Vol. 2 (trans. by T. Randell; London: W. Smith, 1885), 152.

son" or "your name." However, he swiftly dismisses them as making no difference to the meaning. His preference, though, is for "glorify your son," which is the reading he most dwells on, since this refers to the glorification—or crucifixion (as Cyril points out that the two are equated)—of the Son. At the end of this discussion, Cyril returns once more to the alternate reading to show what meaning it would have in the context: that God ultimately is the one who receives the glory. But Cyril quickly passes from this to summarize his points on Jesus's humanity in this context.

John 12:31

89. Macarius Magnes, *Apokritika* 2.31(20)

1: βληθήσεται ἔξω 𝔓[66] D a aur c (cf. ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω [majority of witnesses] [NA])

2: βληθήσεται κάτω Θ it sy[s] sa; Epiph

> Τούτων γοῦν ὧδε σωζομένων γνησίως, καιρός σοι κἀκεῖνο δευτερῶσαι τὸ καίριον ὧδ' ἐπιλεγόμενον· «Νῦν κρίσις ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου· νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου βληθήσεται ἔξω», ἢ ὡς ἔχει τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων· «βληθήσεται κάτω», «κἀγὼ ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ, πάντας ἑλκύσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν». (Goulet)[71]

> For indeed here these things are preserved legitimately, as you once and then a second time here add the timely statement, "Now is the judgment of the world; now the ruler of this world will be cast out"—or, as some copies have, "will be cast down"—"and if I am lifted up, I will draw everyone to myself."[72]

In this chapter, Macarius is following his pattern of refuting various objections to Scripture and Christianity raised by a particular philosopher, and here responds to the

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[71] Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie*, 2:54.

[72] Crafer (*Apocriticus*, 47) translates a little more freely (and concisely): "Note that there are two readings: 'cast out,' and 'cast down,' and that the words which follow are: 'I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto myself.'"

philosopher's objections to John 12:31.[73] The philosopher, as quoted by Macarius, cites this verse to read "cast out," but interwoven in his argument, the philosopher also uses the phrase "cast down." In opening his refutation, Macarius notes that his opponent was accurate in using both phrases because the MSS have both readings. Although both the philosopher and Macarius (perhaps simply to repeat the philosopher) cite the verse first with "cast out," as though the lemma, neither reading is given explicit preference by either debate partner. However, the chief argument is based on the reading "cast out." The opponent's concern is who is the "ruler" mentioned in the verse, and where exactly is he supposed to be cast? He argues extensively that it is impossible to be cast "out" of the world, and therefore the verse is nonsensical. Macarius thus replies by explaining what "world" means in biblical language, and who the "ruler" is in relation to the world. His response focuses more on the reading "cast down," mostly so that he can juxtapose it with the "lifting up" of Jesus in v. 32. Macarius does not again explicitly comment on the variant or why one reading should be preferred, although he does cite the verse once more in the chapter, this time reading "cast down" (βληθήσεται κάτω). While the variant itself is the adverb following the verb, both the philosopher and Macarius interchangeably refer to the distinction (between "out" and "down") by using the verbal prefix (ἐκβάλλω and καταβάλλω), even though both initially cite the verse without the prefix on the verb (βληθήσεται).

[73] On the identity of the philosopher, see the notes for Mark 15:34 (§53, above).

John 16:13

90. Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 96.4; 100.1

1: docebit uos omnem ueritatem [διηγήσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πᾶσαν] vg$^{cl.ww}$

2: deducet uos in omni ueritate [ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πάσῃ] **ℵ**(*: *om.* πάσῃ) D L W (^{s} Θ) 1. 33. 565. (579) *al* it [NA, UBS, Metzger]

Si ergo in caritate proficiatis, quam diffundit in cordibus Spiritus sanctus, *docebit uos omnem ueritatem,* uel, sicut alii codices habent, *deducet uos in omni ueritate;* unde dictum est: *Deduc me, Domine, in uia tua, et ambulabo in ueritate tua*. . . . Proinde quod ait: *Docebit uos omnem ueritatem,* uel: *deducet uos in omni ueritate,* non arbitror in hac uita in cuiusquam mente posse compleri; (quis enim uiuens in hoc corpore quod corrumpitur et aggrauat animam, possit omnem cognoscere ueritatem; cum dicat apostolus: *Ex parte scimus*) sed quia per Spiritum sanctum fit, unde nunc pignus accepimus, ut ad ipsam quoque plenitudinem ueniamus, de qua idem dicit apostolus: *Tunc autem facie ad faciem;* et: *Nunc scio ex parte, tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum;* non quod in hac uita scit totum, quod usque ad illam perfectionem futurum nobis Dominus promisit per caritatem Spiritus, dicens: *Docebit uos omnem ueritatem,* uel: *deducet uos in omni ueritate.* . . . Isto enim modo uos docebit Spiritus sanctus omnem ueritatem, cum magis magisque diffundet in cordibus uestris caritatem. (CCSL 36:571-72)

If, therefore, you should advance in the love that the Holy Spirit pours forth in hearts, “He will teach you all truth,” or, as some codices have it, “He will guide you in all truth.” Hence it was said, “Guide me, Lord, in your way, and I will walk in your truth” [Ps 85:11]. . . .

Accordingly, I do not think that his words, “He will teach you all truth,” or “He will guide you in all truth,” can be fulfilled in this life in anyone’s mind. For who, living in this body, which is corrupted and presses down the soul, can know all truth, since the Apostle says, “We know in part” [1 Cor 13:9]? But [his words can be fulfilled] because it is effected through the Holy Spirit from whom we have now received the pledge so that we might come also to the very fullness about which the same Apostle said, “but then face to face” and “Now I know in part, but then I shall know even as I am known” [1 Cor 13:12], not because in this life he knows the totality that the Lord promised us would be present even for that perfection through the love of the Spirit, saying “He will teach you all truth,” or “He will guide you in all truth.” . . .

For in this way the Holy Spirit will teach you all truth, when he will more and more pour forth love in your hearts. (FC 90:197-98 [modified])

Cum promitteret Dominus uenturum Spiritum sanctum, *Docebit uos,* inquit, *omnem ueritatem;* uel, quod in nonnullis codicibus legitur: *Deducet uos in omni*

> *ueritate. Non enim loquetur a semetipso, sed quaecumque audiet, loquetur.* De quibus euangelicis uerbis iam quod donauit Dominus disputauimus; nunc ea quae sequuntur adtendite. (CCSL 36:588)
>
> When the Lord was promising that the Holy Spirit would come, he said, "He will teach you all truth"; or what is read in some codices, "He will guide you in all truth. For he will not speak of himself, but what things soever he will hear, he will speak." But concerning these words of the Gospel we have already discussed what the Lord granted; now give your attention to the things that follow. (FC 90:229)

Augustine has been discussing John 16:12 and the teachings of Scripture that certain sects "cannot bear." But after the ascension, the Holy Spirit is poured out into the hearts of believers (Rom 5:5) to enlighten them to these teachings. As Augustine continues with John 16:13, he presents the two readings in passing, "he will teach you in all truth" or "he will guide you in all truth." While he does not discern between the two readings, he uses the variation "guide" as a link to Ps 85:11, "Guide me, Lord." He then describes the difference between exterior teachers and the Spirit as an interior teacher. Twice more he mentions the two readings together as alternates without discerning between them, as his focus instead is on "all truth," which he believes can only be fulfilled at the eschaton when we receive the full portion of the Spirit. At the end of the tractate, however, after warning his readers against the type of wrong teachings that they should not bear, he closes with a line that uses the first reading, "teach you all truth."

Augustine continues his extended discussion of John 16:13 and the role of the Spirit from tractate 96 down through tractate 99. Opening tractate 100, he repeats the two readings in John 16:13 and notes that he has already covered this text before moving on to the next portion. He again mentions the variant in passing, as present in some MSS, but shows no preference between the two readings. However, in both tractates, "teach

you" is mentioned first, as though the lemma, while "guide you" is treated as the variant. After this passing reference, Augustine moves on to the rest of the verse.

John 19:14//Mark 15:25[74]

91. Ammonius, *Fr. Jo.* 596

1: τρίτη **א**^{2} D^s L Δ Ψ *l* 844 *pc*

2: ἕκτη (majority of witnesses) [NA, Metzger]

> Τὴν ὥραν ἐπεσημήνατο ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς διὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ γεγονυῖαν ἡμέρᾳ. ὁ καλλιγράφος ἀντὶ τοῦ γάμμα στοιχείου, ὅπερ σημαίνει τὸ τρίτην, ἔγραψε τὸ ἐπίσημον, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ᾿Αλεξανδρεῖς Γαβέξ, ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν ἕκτην, πολλὴν ἔχοντα πρὸς ἑαυτὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα. καὶ διὰ τοῦ γραφικοῦ σφάλματος γέγονεν ἡ διαφωνία· ἀντὶ γὰρ τρίτης ὥρας ἕκτην ἔγραψεν. (Reuss, 343)
>
> The evangelist indicated the hour because the resurrection happened on the third day. The scribe, instead of the letter "gamma," which represents the third, wrote the mark that the Alexandrians call "gabex," which signifies the sixth, which greatly resembles it. So the disagreement occurred through a scribal error; for in place of the "third" hour, the "sixth" was written.

In this scholion, Ammonius assumes that the original reading was "third," based on the correspondence to the resurrection on the third day, but the text now read "sixth" through scribal error, due to the similarity of two characters. No MS evidence is mentioned.

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[74] These discussions are essentially the transmission of the same tradition through various writers, describing a supposed scribal error rather than comparing MS evidence. It was borderline whether this verse warranted inclusion in the Catalogue or should be moved to the Additional Texts. Because the patristic evidence was so extensive, I opted to include it here.

92. *Chronicon Paschale*

1: τρίτη (see above)

2*: ἕκτη

> ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα· ὥρα ἦν ὡσεὶ τρίτη, καθὼς τὰ ἀκριβῆ βιβλία περιέχει, αὐτό τε τὸ ἰδιόχειρον τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν πεφύλακται χάριτι θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ᾿Εφεσίων ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πιστῶν ἐκεῖσε προσκυνεῖται. (Dindorf, 11)[75]
>
> ἦν δὲ παρασκευή· ὥρα ἦν ὡσεὶ τρίτη, καθὼς τὰ ἀκριβῆ βιβλία περιέχει, αὐτό τε τὸ ἰδιόχειρον τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ᾿Ιωάννου, ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται χάριτι θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ᾿Εφεσίων ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πιστῶν ἐκεῖσε προσκυνεῖται. (Dindorf, 411)
>
> "But it was the Friday (of Passover); it was the third hour," just as the accurate books contain, and (John) the evangelist's very own hand, which until now has been guarded by the grace of God in the most holy church of the Ephesians, and is venerated by the faithful there.

This nearly identical passage appears twice in the *Chronicon*.[76] First, it appears in the context of recounting the trial and crucifixion of Jesus according to John's Gospel, particularly with relation to the events of Passover. John 19:13-14a is quoted, then it is noted parenthetically that this is the reading in the most accurate MSS, including John's autograph copy which is safeguarded by the church in Ephesus (the relic itself serves as a textual witness). Without further comment on the variant, the narrative picks up again with a quotation of John 19:31. The second occurrence of the passage is again in the context of recounting the trial and crucifixion of Jesus, this time focusing more on the trial before the high priest. The narrative quotes John 18:28 and then summarizes that Jesus was handed over to Pilate and skips forward to the citation of 19:14a, followed by

[75] *Chronicon Paschale*, vol. 1 (ed. L. Dindorf; Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae; Bonn: Weber, 1832).

[76] The repetition of the same comment in slightly different contexts may indicate that the author simply copied a marginal gloss from his copy of John or another source.

the same parenthetical comment. The text picks up again following this with a quotation of Matt 27:19 (the intercession by Pilate's wife) and then returns to John 19:15 and commentary on Jesus as the true passover lamb.

93. Epiphanius, *Ep. Eus.* 238^{v}- 239^{r}

1: τρίτη (see above)

2: ἕκτη

> ἔμεινε δὲ ἐκεῖ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα καὶ πρωῒ λίαν προφέρει αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πραιτωρίου ἡμέρᾳ προσαββάτου τῇ παρασκευῇ καλουμένῃ καὶ οὕτως ὥρᾳ γ σταυροῦται κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ Μάρκου εἰσήγησιν καὶ ᾿Ιωάννου τῶν θεσπεσίων εὐαγγελιστῶν· εἰ καὶ ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ κατὰ ᾿Ιωάννην εὐαγγελίου γραφικοῦ ἕνεκεν σφάλματος παραπεποίηται τὸ Γ στοιχεῖον, ὅπερ τὸν τρεῖς ψῆφον δηλοῖ, εἰς τὸ ἐπισήμου, ὅπερ τὸν ἕξ παρίστησι διὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στοιχείων τὰς κεραίας ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ ἐπιβλέπειν ἡμᾶς· ὃ καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἠκρίβωσαν Κλήμης τε καὶ ᾿Ωριγένης καὶ ὁ Πάμφιλος Εὐσέβιος. καὶ οὐ χρὴ τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀκροατὰς διὰ τὴν τοῦ στοιχείου ἀναίρεσιν ἢ παράθεσιν διασπᾶν τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων συμφωνίαν. (Holl)[77]
>
> But he remained there the entire night and before dawn he brought him from the praetorium on the eve of the Sabbath, called the day of preparation, and thus he was crucified in the third hour according to the accurate reading of Mark and John among the divine evangelists; if also in some copies of the Gospel of John because of a scribal error the character gamma, which indicates the number three, is altered into the episemon which stands for six, we observe that it is on account of the fact that the crossbars of both characters run from the left to the right, which also before us both Clement and Origen and Eusebius Pamphilus corrected. And it is not necessary for eager students to disrupt the harmony of the divine gospels through erasure of the character or juxtaposition.

In this letter, Epiphanius is concerned with the exact hours and dates surrounding the crucifixion, and thus the observation of Passover and Easter. He recounts the order and times of each interrogation of Jesus by the various authorities, coming finally to the examination by Pilate. Here Epiphanius notes that this is the third hour, according to the

[77] K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1928), 206.

accurate copies of Mark and John, but that some copies of John read "sixth" instead. This reading is a scribal error, confusing the character for six with the character for three, since they are written similarly. He also mentions that this same problem was commented upon previously by Clement, Origen, and Eusebius, indicating that Epiphanius himself may be simply rehearsing the same tradition rather than speaking from his experience with the MSS. He then turns to the evidence from Matthew, which has darkness upon the earth at the sixth hour, thus refuting the reading of the sixth hour in John.

94. Eusebius, *Supp. qu. Marin.* 4

1: τρίτη (see above)

2: ἕκτη

> Εὐσέβιος ὁ Καισαρεὺς, ὁ Παμφίλου προσαγορευόμενος, ἐν *ταῖς πρὸς Μαρῖνον* ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτηρίου πάθους καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως *Ζητήσεσι* καὶ ἐπιλύσεσι, καὶ ταῦτα προὔθηκεν εἰς ἐξέτασιν, τὸ τὸν μὲν θεῖον εὐαγγελιστὴν Μάρκον εἰπεῖν ὥραν εἶναι τρίτην καθ' ἣν ἐσταυρώθη Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν· τὸν δὲ θεολογικώτατον Ἰωάννην κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην ὥραν γράψαι προκαθεσθῆναι τὸν Πιλάτον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν τῷ λιθοστρώτῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ, καὶ ἀνακρίνειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν· καί φησι γραφικὸν εἶναι τοῦτο σφάλμα, παροραθὲν παρὰ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπογραψαμένων τὰ Εὐαγγέλια· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ γάμμα στοιχείου τὴν τρίτην ὥραν σημαίνοντος, τοῦ δὲ ἐπισήμου τὴν ἕκτην, καὶ πολλὴν ἐμφέρειαν ἐχόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους τούτων τῶν χαρακτήρων, κατὰ πλάνην τὸ γάμμα στοιχεῖον τὸ τῆς τρίτης ὥρας δηλωτικὸν, κυρτωθείσης τῆς ἀποτεταμμένης εἰς μῆκος εὐθείας, εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐπισήμου μεταχωρῆσαι σημασίαν, τοῦ τῆς ἕκτης ὥρας δηλωτικοῦ· τῶν γὰρ τριῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν, τοῦ τε Ματθαίου καὶ Μάρκου, καὶ τοῦ Λουκᾶ συμφώνως λεγόντων, ὡς ἀπὸ ἕκτης ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης, πρόδηλον ὡς ὁ Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς Ἰησοὺς πρὸ τῆς ἕκτης ὥρας, πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκότος, ἐσταύρωτο, δηλαδὴ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ὥραν, ὡς ὁ Μάρκος ἱστόρησε· καὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τὴν ὥραν τρίτην εἶναι ἐπισημηναμένου, καὶ τῶν ἀπογραψαμένων τὸ γάμμα μεταθέντων εἰς τὸ ἐπίσημον. (PG 22:1009)
>
> Eusebius the Caesarean, called Pamphili, in the Questions to Marinus on the passion and resurrection of the Savior and in the explanations, also set forth in close examination these things: the divine evangelist Mark said it was the third

> hour during which Christ our God and Savior was crucified; but John, the most theological, wrote it was during the sixth hour that Pilate presided on the judgment seat in the place called the Stone Pavement and interrogated Jesus; and Eusebius said this error was scribal, overlooked by those who copied the Gospels from the beginning; for while the character gamma represents the third hour, and the episemon the sixth, since these figures also have great resemblance to one another, by mistake the character gamma which signifies the third hour, when the straight extender was curved upward, it changed into the sign of episemon, which signifies the sixth hour. For while the three evangelists, both Matthew and Mark, and Luke say in agreement that darkness came upon the entire land from the sixth hour until the ninth hour, it is clear that Jesus the Lord and God was crucified before the sixth hour, before the darkness came, clearly during the third hour, as Mark records; while John also indicates in a similar manner that it is the third hour, and the copyists changed the gamma into the episemon.

In this excerpt, Eusebius is reported to have commented on the discrepancy between the third hour, in Mark, and the sixth hour, in John. His evaluation of the problem is that it was a scribal error, that the character for six was inserted instead of the number three. Eusebius finds agreement among the Synoptics that darkness came in the sixth hour, and since Jesus was clearly crucified before this, then that must have happened in the third hour. Likewise, once the scribal error is taken into account, John also agrees with this reading. The excerpt ends here, providing no further context.[78]

95. Jerome, *Hom.* 11 on Psalm 77 (78 Eng) [Origen?][79]

1: tertia [τρίτη] (see above)

2: sexta [ἕκτη]

> Ergo simpliciter dicamus: quomodo illud in euangelio scriptum est, scriptum est in Matthaeo et Iohanne quod Dominus noster hora sexta crucifixus sit, rursum scriptum est in Marco quia hora tertia crucifixus sit. Hoc uidetur esse diuersum,

[78] See Theophylact, *Comm. Jo.* 19:12-14 (§96, below), which paraphrases this same passage. It is possible that the context for this passage in Theophylact's commentary also represents more of Eusebius's text.

[79] See above, §27, n. 16.

sed non est diuersum. Error scriptorum fuit: et in Marco hora sexta scriptum fuit, sed multi pro ἐπισήμῳ graeco putauerunt esse gamma. Sicut enim ibi error fuit scriptorum, sic et hic error fuit scriptorum, ut pro Asaph Esaiam scriberent. (CCSL 78:66-67)

Let us answer frankly: there is a similar problem in Matthew [27:45] and in John [19:14] where it is written that our Lord was crucified at the sixth hour, whereas in Mark [15:25] it is written that He was crucified the third hour. There seems to be a discrepancy here, but really there is none. The error was on the part of the scribes, for originally in Mark the sixth hour, likewise, was written, but many thought there was a gamma instead of an ἐπισήμῳ, the Greek number sign. Now, just as this was the scribes' error, it was, likewise, their error to write Isaiah instead of Asaph [cf. Matt 13:35]. (FC 48:81-82 [modified])

This is a continuation of the discussion of Matt 13:35 in *Hom.* 11 on Psalm 77 LXX (see §27, above). The homilist is elaborating on the comment in Matt 22:29 that those err who do not know the Scriptures. He cites a number of textual problems as evidence of such errors. In between his comments on Matt 13:35, the homilist cites the evidence of the difference between the third and sixth hours for Jesus's crucifixion. He argues that there is no discrepancy between the Gospels, only a scribal error due to a misreading of the number (Jerome clarifies that it is the Greek number sign). The homilist finds this to be the same type of error evidenced in Matt 13:35, which he attributes to ignorance on the part of the scribes, especially those in the early church. He then continues with one more example from Matt 27:9 before returning to his exegesis of the psalm.

96. Theophylact, *Comm. Jo.* 19:12-14

1: τρίτη (see above)

2: ἕκτη

Πῶς δὲ τοῦ Μάρκου λέγοντος τρίτην ὥραν εἶναι, ὅτε ὁ Χριστὸς ἐσταυροῦτο, ὁ ᾿Ιωάννης ἕκτην φησί; Λύουσιν οὖν τοῦτο, τινὲς μὲν, ὅτι γραφικὸν τὸ σφάλμα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ γάμμα τὴν τρίτην ὥραν σημαίνει, καὶ

ἔστιν ὁ χαρακτὴρ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτος, Γʹ· τὸ δὲ καλούμενον ἐπίσημον, τὴν ἕκτην, καὶ ἔχει τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοιόνδε, Ϛʹ. Εἰκὸς οὖν τὸ γάμμα στοιχεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπροσεξίας τῶν μεταγραφόντων κυρτωθείσης τῆς ἀποτεταμένης εὐθείας εἰς μῆκος, εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἐπισήμου μεταχωρῆσαι χαρακτῆρα, καὶ οὕτω τὴν πλάνην ταύτην γενέσθαι. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο εἰκὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἀναγράφεσθαι καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἕκτην ὥσπερ νῦν, δῆλον ἐντεῦθεν. Τῶν γὰρ τριῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν, τοῦ τε Ματθαίου, καὶ τοῦ Μάρκου, καὶ τοῦ Λουκᾶ συμφώνως λεγόντων, ὡς ἀπὸ ἕκτης ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν, ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης, πρόδηλον, ὡς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἕκτης ὥρας, πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκότος, ἐσταύρωτο, δηλαδὴ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ὥραν, ὡς ὁ Μάρκος τε ἱστόρησε, καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁμοίως, εἰ καὶ ἡ πλάνη τῶν γραφόντων τὸ γάμμα μετέθηκεν εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἐπισήμου χαρακτῆρα. Τινὲς μὲν οὖν οὕτω λύουσι τοῦτο. (PG 124:268-69)

But how does Mark say it is the third hour when Christ was crucified, while John says the sixth? Therefore some resolve this by saying that it is a scribal error; for the gamma indicates the third hour, and its character is such: Γ; but that which is called episemon indicates the sixth, and has this character: Ϛ. Therefore likely, due to the inattention of the transcriptionists, the straight extender of the gamma stichos was curved upward, changing it into the episemon character, and thus this mistake happened. But because this likely happened, also the third hour was written down even by John, but not the sixth just as it is now, it is clear from this. For while the three evangelists, both Matthew, and Mark, and Luke, say in agreement that darkness came upon the entire land from the sixth hour until the ninth hour, it is clear that our Lord was crucified before the sixth hour, before the darkness came, clearly during the third hour, as both Mark records, and John likewise, if indeed a mistake on the part of the scribes changed the gamma into the character of episemon. Therefore in this way some people resolve this.[80]

Commenting on John 19:12-14, Theophylact is discussing Jesus's trial before Pilate, noting how Pilate appeared to be giving Jesus a fair trial by coming out and sitting on the bema, but really he simply handed Jesus over without fully examining his case in order to lay the shame upon the Jews. Theophylact then turns to the question of the hour of Jesus's crucifixion, since John here mentions the sixth hour. Repeating the tradition that has been handed down, Theophylact explains that some people solve the

[80] Cf. Eusebius, *Supp. qu. Marin.* 4 (§94, above). The two texts are very similar, and almost verbatim toward the end of the passage. Where the Eusebius excerpts ends, so does Theophylact's presentation of how "some" (τινὲς μέν) would resolve the contradiction between Mark and John, bookended by a repetition of the same statement.

contradiction with Mark by attributing it to a scribal error, and therefore John originally read "the third hour" in agreement with the Synoptics. After this, Theophylact reiterates that this is how some people would explain the difference in time between Mark and John. He then turns to another explanation ("But others say . . ."), that Mark and John are referring not to the same moment but to different events in the course of the trial and crucifixion.

Acts 14:26

97. Ammonius, catena on Acts 14:23; or Pseudo-Oecumenius, *Comm. Acts* 22

1: εἰς Μιλήτον

2: εἰς ᾿Αντιόχειαν (majority of witnesses)[81]

> Ὅρα ὅτι καὶ οἱ περὶ Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν ἐπισκόπων εἶχον ἀξίαν, ἐξ ὧν ἐχειροτόνουν οὐ μόνον διακόνους ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους· καὶ ὀπίσω δὲ ἐσημειωσάμην, ὅτι μετὰ νηστειῶν καὶ εὐχῶν ἐποίουν οἱ μαθηταὶ τὰς χειροτονίας· σημείωσα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰς Μίλητον ἐχειροτονήθησαν οἱ περὶ Βαρνάβαν καὶ Παῦλον· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐξελθόντες, εὐηγγελίσαντο τὰς μέχρι τῆς Πισιδίας πόλεις, καὶ ὅσας ἄλλας ὁ λόγος ἐσήμανε τέως· ἄλλο δὲ ἀντίγραφον εὗρον ἔχον ἀντὶ Μιλήτου ᾿Αντιόχειαν, ὃ καὶ πιθανώτερόν μοι μᾶλλον ἐφάνη. (Cramer, 3:240; attributed to Ammonius)
>
> Σημειωτέον δὲ ὅτι οἱ περὶ Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν ἐπισκόπων εἶχον ἀξίαν, ἐξ ὧν ἐχειροτόνουν οὐ μόνον διακόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους· καὶ ὅτι μετὰ νηστειῶν καὶ εὐχῶν ἐποίουν οἱ μαθηταὶ τὰς χειροτονίας. Σημείωσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰς Μίλητον ἐχειροτο[ν]ήθησαν οἱ περὶ Βαρνάβαν καὶ Παῦλον, ἄλλο δὲ ἀντίγραφον εὗρον ἔχον ἀντὶ Μιλήτου, εἰς ᾿Αντιόχειαν· ὃ καὶ πιθανώτερον. (PG 118:213; attributed to Oecumenius)
>
> But one should note {See} that {even} those around Paul and Barnabas had the rank of overseers, from whom they were electing not only deacons but also elders, and {I noted above} that with fasting and prayer the disciples made the elections. But note {I noted} also this, that in Miletus those around Barnabas and Paul were

[81] No variant is present here in NA, UBS, or Swanson. Cf. Tischendorf, who cites Oecumenius and this scholion.

elected, {and having departed from this place, they were evangelizing the cities as far as Pisidia, and the word indicated so many other cities during this time;} but I found another copy that has "to Antioch" instead of Miletus, which also is {appears to me rather} more persuasive.[82]

In Cramer, this paragraph attributed to Ammonius stands alone as an excerpt on Acts 14:23, following another from John Chrysostom, and thus has no further context. In Pseudo-Oecumenius's *Commentary on Acts*, vv. 23-28 are presented together, with εἰς Μιλήτον in the lemma for v. 26. He begins the commentary on these verses by addressing why the apostles appointed elders here but not in Cyprus or Samaria. He attributes the difference to the proximity to Jerusalem, the response to the gospel, and the greater need to teach the Gentiles. He then comments on the deacons and elders appointed in the current passage, and he closes this section with a note that another MS reads "Antioch," which he prefers as a better reading. After this, the commentary passes on to chapter 15.

Acts 15:29

98. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. Gal.* 2:2

1: *omit* D 1; Ir$^{1739mg.lat}$ Tert Hier^{mss}

2: et a suffocato [καὶ πνικτοῦ] 𝔓^{74} ℵ^{2} A^{c} E Ψ 33. 1739 𝔐 (lat) sy; CyrJ [cf. καὶ πνικτῶν (see below)][83]

denique tria haec mandata ab apostolis et senioribus data reperiuntur, quae ignorant leges Romanae, id est, ut observent se ab idolatria, a sanguine sicut Noe et a fornicatione. quae sofistae Graecorum non intellegentes, scientes tamen a sanguine abstinendum, adulterarunt scripturam quartum mandatum addentes, et a

[82] For simplicity of presentation, the translation follows the Pseudo-Oecumenius version with the Ammonius version added in brackets.

[83] The UBS apparatus lists among the evidence "mss$^{acc. to Ambrosiaster}$."

> suffocato observandum. quod puto nunc dei nutu intellecturi sunt, quia iam supra dictum erat quod addiderunt. (CSEL 81.3, 19)

> Then these three commands handed down from the apostles and elders are encountered, which are foreign to the laws of Rome, i.e., to keep themselves from idolatry, from blood like Noah, and from fornication. Since the sophists of the Greeks do not understand these things, but do know to abstain further from blood, they adulterate Scripture, adding a fourth command, "and keeping from what is strangled." Which I think now, God willing, they will understand, because they have already added such a phrase.

In his exposition on Galatians 2 and Paul's journey to Jerusalem to meet with the elders, Ambrosiaster includes information from Acts 15 about the Jerusalem council. He notes that the council's verdict was for the Gentiles to abstain from three things: blood, fornication, and idolatry. He then comments that the Greek "sophists" have tried to reason out the meaning of the text, but misunderstood; "blood" could not refer to homicide, since the Gentiles would already know this is wrong based on Roman law, and thus it indicates refraining from eating raw flesh, as God commanded Noah (cf. Gen 9:4). Ambrosiaster then accuses the sophists of adulterating the Scripture by adding, in their ignorance, a fourth prohibition extending the limitations against blood, namely to abstain from what has been strangled. After this, he passes on to Gal 2:3 and addresses the issue of the circumcision of Titus (see further Ambrosiaster on Gal 2:5 [§137, below]).

99. Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* 5:2

1: *omit* (see above)

2: et a suffocatis [καὶ πνικτῶν] א* A* B C 81. 614. 1175 *pc* (co); Cl Hier^{mss} [cf. καὶ πνικτοῦ (see above)] [NA, UBS, Metzger[84]]

[84] See Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 379-83, for a discussion of the textual history of the "Apostolic Decree" (cf. Acts 15:20; 21:25).

> Et in Actibus Apostolorum narrat historia, cum quidam de circumcisione surgentes adseruissent eos qui ex gentibus crediderant debere circumcidi et legem custodire Moysi, seniores qui Hierosolymis erant et apostolos pariter congregatos statuisse per litteras ne superponeretur eis iugum legis nec amplius obseruarent nisi ut custodirent se tantum ab idolothytis et sanguine et fornicatione siue, ut in nonnullis exemplaribus scriptum est, et a suffocatis. (CCSL 77A:149)

> And in the Acts of the Apostles the narrative recounts that when certain ones from among the circumcised arose and were encouraging the Gentile believers that they ought to be circumcised and to keep the law of Moses, the elders and apostles assembled together in Jerusalem to establish through letters that no one should place upon them the yoke of the law nor observe anything more stringent, except to keep themselves only from food offered to idols, blood, and fornication—or, as it is written in some copies—and from what is strangled.

Jerome is discussing Paul's statement in Gal 5:2 that Christ will be of no benefit to believers who become circumcised. He points out that Galatians was written to the uncircumcised believers and refers back to the decision of the council in Acts 15, listing those things in v. 29 that the council determined the Gentile Christians should avoid. Jerome adds in passing that some MSS include meat from a strangled animal. Without further comment on the variant, he then turns to Paul's treatment of circumcision in Romans and 1 Corinthians.

Romans 3:5

100. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 3.1.6, 12

1: κατὰ [τῶν] ἀνθρώπων (adversum homines) 1739^{mg} sa; (Or)$^{\text{mss Graeca apud Or lat}}$

2: κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω (secundum hominem dico) (majority of witnesses) [NA]

> Ταῦτα τὸ >Μ[ὴ] ἄδικος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὴν ὀργὴν κατὰ ἀνθρώπων;< [.] . . εἰ δὲ ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις εὕρομεν >Μὴ ἄδικος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιφέρων τὴν ὀργήν; κατὰ ἄνθρωπο[ν] λέγω. Μὴ γένοιτο<, τοιτοῦ[το]ν ἂν ἔχοι νοῦν ἡ λέξις· τὸ φάσκειν ἄδικον εἶ[να]ι τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιφέροντα τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀδικία ἡμῶν Θεοῦ δικαιοσύν[η]ν [συνίστ]ησιν, οὐ κατὰ Θεὸν λέγει οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν σ[ο]φίαν αὐ[τοῦ]

ἀλλὰ κατὰ [τὸ ἀν]θρώπινον καὶ καθὸ Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης ἐστίν *** (Scherer)[85]

These things the question "Is not God unjust who inflicts wrath against men?" . . . But if as we find in other [copies], "Is not God unjust inflicting wrath? I speak according to man. Certainly not!" the reading would have such a meaning: to say God is unjust for inflicting wrath since "our unrighteousness confirms the righteousness of God"; it does not say "according to God" nor "according to his wisdom," but "according to man," even as "Every man is a liar."

Sciendum sane est, quod in quibusdam etiam Graecis exemplaribus sic invenitur: "Numquid iniquus Deus, qui infert iram adversum homines?" Et magis secundum hunc sensum videbuntur quae diximus convenire. Secundum hoc vero, quod in Latinis exemplaribus et nonnullis Graecorum invenimus: "Numquid iniquus Deus, qui infert iram? Secundum hominem dico. Absit!" Ita intelligendum videtur: Hoc, quod dicitur: "iniquus Deus, qui infert iram", pro eo quod "iniustitia nostra iustitiam Dei commendat", non secundum Deum neque secundum sapientiam Dei dicitur, sed secundum hominem et secundum hoc, quod dicitur: "Omnis homo mendax." (Heither, 2:34, 36)

It is certainly important to know that even in some Greek copies the following is found, "Is God unjust who inflicts wrath against men?" What we have already said seems to agree more with this sense. But it seems that it should be understood according to that which we find in the Latin copies and in some of the Greek ones, "Is God unjust who inflicts wrath? I am speaking according to man. By no means!" That which is said, "God is unjust who inflicts wrath," because of the fact that "our unrighteousness confirms the unrighteousness of God," is being said not according to God nor according to God's wisdom but according to man and according to what is said, "Every man is a liar" [Rom 3:4]. (FC 103:180)

Haec de eo, quod dictum est: "Numquid iniquus Deus, qui infert iram?" vel "adversum homines," ut in quibusdam exeplaribus legi diximus, vel, ut nos habemus "secundum hominem dico. Absit!" prout occurrere nobis potuit, dicta sint. (Heither, 2:44)

These things have been stated as they occurred to us as an explanation of that which is written, "Is God unjust who brings wrath" either "against men?" as we have said is read in some of the copies, or, as we have it, "I am speaking according to man. By no means!" (FC 103:184)

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[85] *Le Commentaire d'Origène sur Rom. III.5-V.7 d'après les extraits du papyrus no. 88748 du Musée du Caire et les fragments de la Philocalie et du Vaticanus graecus 762* (ed. and trans. J. Scherer; Bibliothèque d'Étude 27; Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1957), 126. The ellipsis points are original to Scherer and represent illegible script; the brackets mark lacunae; the asterisks represent an interruption in the text (p. 123)

While the lemma given by Rufinus reads, "I am speaking according to man" (i.e., in a human way), Origen's lemma apparently had the reading, "Is God unjust who brings wrath against men?" In this exposition, Origen is explaining that the fact that our unrighteousness confirms God's righteousness does not give us license to misbehave in order to make God look better. Twice already in this discussion he has used a variation of the phrase, "God brings wrath against men." As confirmed in the Greek fragments, Origen himself then notes that there is a variant here; in translating this comment, Rufinus is aware that Origen's commentary thus far has explained his original reading, not the "variant" (which is actually Rufinus's Latin lemma). Rufinus adds a comment about which version appears in the Latin copies.[86] Origen then briefly explains the reading "I am speaking according to man" before moving on with the discussion. In the ongoing commentary on this passage, the phrase "against men" repeatedly appears through the summarizing section, which again notes the variant.

Romans 3:9

101. Arethas of Caesarea, catena

1: προεχόμεθα οὐ πάντως ℵ B (D^2) 0219^{vid}. 33. 1739. 1881 𝔐 (vg) sy^{hmg} co? [NA]

2: κατέχομεν περισσόν 1505 2495 (προκατέχομεν περισσόν D* G (Ψ) 104 *pc* it $sy^{p.h**}$ bo; Ambst)[87]

Τὰ ἀκριβέστερα τῶν ἀντιγράφων καὶ ἀρχαιότερα οὐκ ἔχει προεχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τί οὖν κατέχομεν περισσόν; (Staab, 654)

[86] Cf. C. P. Hammond Bammel, *Der Römerbrieftext des Rufin und seine Origenes-Übersetzung* (AGLB 10; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1985), 204.

[87] Cf. Swanson.

> The more accurate and older copies do not have "are we better off," but "do we then have an advantage?"

As a brief scholion, this reading has no additional context. Arethas simply notes that a variant is found in the best and oldest MSS. In another scholion on the same verse,[88] Arethas repeats προεχόμεθα as his base text but also makes a passing reference to the other reading (ἤτοι τὸ περισσότερον).

Romans 4:3

102. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 4.2.11

(See Additional Texts.)

Romans 5:14

103. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. Rom.* 5:14

1: *omit* 614. 1739*. 2495* *pc* d* m; Or^{pt} Ambst

2: non [μή] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

> 4. ac si in Graeco
>
> α sic habeat etiam in eos regnasse mortem qui non peccaverunt in similitudine praevaricationis Adae
>
> β non ita cautum dicatur— sic enim dicitur scriptum etiam in eos regnasse mortem qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem praevaricationis Adae—
>
> totum enim hic complexus videtur, ut quia mors, id est dissolutio, per invidiam facta est diaboli, et in eos qui non peccaverunt regnasse mortem. moriuntur enim, quod votum (voti) est satanae. . . . 4e. et tamen sic praescribitur [praescribere] nobis [volunt] de Graecis codicibus, quasi non ipsi ab invicem discrepent. quod facit studium contentionis. quia enim propria quis auctoritate uti non potest ad victoriam, verba legis adulterat, ut sensum suum quasi verbis legis adserat, ut non ratio, sed auctoritas praescribere videatur. constat autem quosdam Latinos porro olim de veteribus Graecis translatos codicibus}

[88] See Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, 654.

5. α respondentes ad haec non tacemus, quia codices nostri ex Graecis veteribus originem habent, quos incorruptos simplicitas temporum probat. postea autem hereticis perturbantibus et quaestiones torquentibus

β quos incorruptos simplicitas temporum servavit et probat. postquam autem a concordia animis dissidentibus et hereticis perturbantibus torqueri quaestiones coeperunt,

multa inmutata sunt ad sensum humanum, ut hoc contineretur in litteris, quod homini videretur. unde et [etiam] ipsi Graeci diversos codices habent. {5a. hoc autem verum arbitror, quando et ratio et historia et auctoritas observatur. nam hodie quae in Latinis reprehenduntur codicibus, sic inveniuntur a veteribus posita, Tertulliano, [et] Victorino et Cypriano. (CSEL 81.1:172-77)[89]

Some Greek manuscripts say that death reigned even in those who had not sinned in the way that Adam had. If this is true, it is because Satan's jealousy was such that death, that is, dissolution, held sway over even those who did not sin. . . . Here there is a textual difference between the Latin version and some of the Greek manuscripts. The Latin says that death reigned over those whose sins were like the sin of Adam, but some Greek manuscripts say that death reigned even over those whose sins were not like Adam's. Which of the two readings is the correct one?

What has happened is that somebody who could not win his argument altered the words of the text in order to make them say what he wanted them to say, so that not argument but textual authority would determine the issue. However, it is known that there were Latin-speakers who translated ancient Greek manuscripts which preserved an uncorrupted version from earlier times. But once these problems were raised by heretics and schismatics who were upsetting the harmony of the church, many things were altered so that the biblical text might conform to what people wanted. Thus even the Greeks have different readings in their manuscripts. I consider the correct reading to be the one which reason, history and authority all retain. For the reading of the modern Latin manuscripts is also found in Tertullian, Victorinus and Cyprian. (ACCS 6:136-37)

In his commentary on this verse, Ambriosiaster is explaining what it means that death reigned, over both those who temporarily escaped punishment and those who suffered for their evil deeds, and how Satan rejoiced in his dominion. Ambrosiaster then notes that some Greek MSS say death reigned even over those who did *not* sin in the

[89] CSEL presents the text for MSS α and β together on even pages and MS γ on odd pages. The minor differences between the facing pages (specifically, where γ diverges from β) are noted here in square brackets immediately following the word that the variant replaces. The other parentheses and rounded brackets are original to CSEL.

manner of Adam; however, he finds that Latin copies lack the negative. Ambrosiaster examines the two variants and determines that the text was intentionally altered by someone who wanted textual authority to prove a point. Even though the Greek evidence seems to weigh against the Latin reading, he asserts that some Latin texts were translated from Greek copies that were uncorrupted, so that there is variation even among the Greek MSS. Ambrosiaster decides on the reading without the negative, since he finds it to be the most logical, the reading supported by both Latin and Greek texts, and the reading of authorities such as Tertullian, Victorinus, and Cyprian. Ambrosiaster then continues his explanation of the reign of death, stating that in Judea the reign of death began to crumble, and now it is being destroyed in every nation. He proceeds with comments on how Adam was the type of Christ. Both before and after his discussion of the variant, Ambrosiaster does use the phrase with the negative, but only to prove his point that over those who do not sin like Adam, death does not reign.

104. Augustine, *Pecc. merit.* 1.13

1: non (see above)

2: *omit*

> ergo in omnibus regnauit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen, qui Christi gratia non adiuti sunt, ut in eis regnum mortis destrueretur, ergo et in eis qui non peccauerunt in similitudine praeuaricationis Adae, id est qui nondum sua et propria uoluntate sicut ille peccauerunt, sed ab illo peccatum originale traxerunt, qui est forma futuri, quia in illo constituta est forma condemnationis futuris posteris, qui eius propagine crearentur, ut ex uno omnes in condemnationem nascerentur, ex qua non liberat nisi gratia saluatoris. scio quidem plerosque latinos codices sic habere: regnauit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen in eos qui peccauerunt in similitudinem praeuaricationis Adae, quod etiam ipsum qui ita legunt ad eundem referunt intellectum, ut in similitudinem praeuaricationis Adae peccasse accipiant, qui in illo peccauerunt, ut ei similes crearentur, sicut ex homine homines, ita ex

> peccatore peccatores, ex morituro morituri damnatoque damnati. graeci autem codices, unde in latinam linguam interpretatio facta est, aut omnes aut paene omnes id quod a me primo positum est habent. (CSEL 60:14)
>
> Therefore "death reigned from Adam unto Moses," in all who were not assisted by the grace of Christ, that in them the kingdom of death might be destroyed, "even in those who had not sinned in the likeness of Adam's transgression," that is, who had not yet sinned of their own individual will, as Adam did, but had drawn from him original sin, "who is the figure of him that was to come," because in him was constituted the form of condemnation to his future progeny, who should spring from him by natural descent; so that from one all people were born to a condemnation, from which there is no deliverance but in the Savior's grace. I am quite aware, indeed, that several Latin copies read the passage thus: "Death reigned from Adam to Moses over them who have sinned in the likeness of Adam's transgression"; but even this version is ascribed by those who so read it to the same meaning, for they understood those who have sinned in him to have sinned in the likeness of Adam's transgression; so that they are created in his likeness, not only as humans born of a human, but as sinners born of a sinner, dying ones of a dying one, and condemned ones to a condemned one. However, the Greek copies from which the Latin version was made have all, without exception or nearly so, the reading which I first adduced. (NPNF 1.5:20 [modified])

From the beginning of book 1 of this anti-Pelagian work focused on forgiveness of sin and infant baptism, Augustine lays out the logic of Adam's sin and the consequent reign of death. This leads him into a discussion of original sin and a need for grace. In chapter 13 (section 11), Augustine cites the beginning of Rom 5:14 and first explains what it means that death reigned from Adam to Moses and how not even the law, but only grace, was sufficient to end that reign. That grace was hidden during the time of the OT and only revealed in the NT. Augustine then draws in the next part of Rom 5:14, that death reigned even in those who did not sin in the likeness of Adam—those who had not sinned like him, but had inherited his original sin. Augustine adds that he is aware some Latin copies lack the negative ("those who sinned"), but he finds that reading to support the same meaning, particularly the notion of inheriting Adam's sin. But nearly all the Greek copies have the negative, which is Augustine's initial reading. He passes on to the

next chapter without further comment on the variant. In the following chapters, Augustine continues to discuss grace and justification, relying on passages from Romans, and then he turns to the relationship between original sin and infant baptism.

105. Augustine, *Ep.* 157.19

1: non (see above)

2: *omit*

> Sed regnauit, inquit, mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen, quia nec lex per Moysen data potuit regnum mortis auferre, quod sola Christi abstulit gratia. in quos autem regnauerit, uide: Et in eos, inquit, qui non peccauerunt, in similitudinem praeuaricationis Adae. regnauit ergo et in eos, qui non peccauerunt. sed cur regnauerit, ostendit, cum ait: In similitudinem praeuaricationis Adae. iste enim est melior intellectus horum uerborum, ut, cum dixisset: Regnauit mors in eos, qui non peccauerunt, quasi nos moueret, quare in eos regnauerit, qui non peccauerunt, adderet: In similitudinem praeuaricationis Adae, id est quia inerat in eorum membris similitudo praeuaricationis Adae. potest et sic intellegi: Regnauit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen et in eos, qui non in similitudinem praeuaricationis Adae peccauerunt, quia in semet ipsis, cum iam nati essent, nec ratione adhuc uterentur, qua ille utebatur, quando peccauit, nec praeceptum accepissent, quod ille transgressus est, sed solo originali uitio tenerentur obstricti, per quod eos regnum mortis traheret ad condemnationem. . . . nonnulli sane codices non habent 'in eos, qui non peccauerunt', sed 'in eos, qui peccauerunt in similitudinem praeuaricationis Adae', quibus quidem uerbis nullo modo iste sensus aufertur. secundum hoc quippe intelleguntur peccasse in similitudinem praeuaricationis Adae, secundum quod supra dictum est: In quo omnes peccauerunt. sed tamen Graeci codices, unde in Latinum scriptura translata est, illud plures habent, quod diximus. (CSEL 44:467-68)
>
> *But death reigned*, he says, *from Adam to Moses* (Rom 5:14), because the law given through Moses could not take away the reign of death, which only the grace of Christ took away. But see over whom it reigned; he says, *even over those who did not sin in the likeness of the transgression of Adam*. It reigned, therefore, even over those who did not sin. But he showed why it reigned when he says, *in the likeness of the transgression of Adam*. For this is the better interpretation of these words, namely, that, after he had said, *Death reigned over those who did not sin*, as if to teach us why it reigned over those who did not sin, he added, *in the likeness of the transgression of Adam*, that is, because the likeness of the

> transgression of Adam was present in their members. It can also be understood in this way: *Death reigned from Adam to Moses even over those who did not sin in the likeness of the transgression of Adam*, because in themselves, when they were already born but did not yet have the use of reason, which he used when he sinned, they had not received the commandment that he transgressed but were held bound only by original sin, by which the reign of death was dragging them to condemnation. . . . Some manuscripts, to be sure, do not have: *over those who have not sinned,* but: *over those who have sinned in the likeness of the transgression of Adam*, by which words this meaning is in no way destroyed. In accord with it, of course, they are understood to have sinned *in the likeness of the transgression of Adam*, in accord with the previous words, *in whom all have sinned* (Rom 5:12). But more Greek manuscripts, from which the scripture has been translated into Latin, have what we said. (Teske, II/3:27-28)

In answer to questions by a certain Hilary about Pelagianism, Augustine replies on a number of topics, primarily the issue of sin and the need for grace. In paragraph 11, he turns to questions of original sin and whether infant baptism is necessary since infants have not yet sinned. Augustine asserts our lineage of sin from Adam, which in paragraph 19 brings him to Rom 5:14 and the statement that Adam's sin, and the death it brings, reigns even over those who did not sin like Adam. Augustine finds this especially applicable to infants, who have not yet sinned like Adam, but are still under the reign of death because of their likeness to him. This death reigns over all who have not been reborn by the grace of Christ, and while the redeemed will die a physical death, their souls will not perish. But even this death will eventually be swallowed up by the victory of resurrection. At the end of this section, Augustine adds that some MSS lack the negative and read "who have sinned." While this does not help him build his argument, he also does not find it contradictory. However, he prefers his initial reading because of the stronger Greek evidence. In the next paragraph, Augustine passes on to further support for his argument from Romans 4-5, continuing for a while on the topic of sin via Adam versus grace via Christ before turning to another questions by Hilary in section 23.

106. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 5.1.37

1: *omit* (see above)

2: non[90]

> Si vero, ut in nonnullis exemplaribus habetur, “etiam in eos, qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem praevaricationis Adae,” mors ista, id est quae in inferno animas detinebat, regnasse dicatur, intelligimus et sanctos quosque sub ista morte etiamsi non peccandi at certe moriendi lege decidisse. . . . (Heither, 3:74)
>
> If, on the other hand, as it reads in some manuscripts, “even in those who did not sin in the likeness of Adam’s transgression,” *this* death, namely that which was keeping souls bound in the underworld, is said to exercise dominion, then we shall understand it to mean that even the saints had fallen prey to that death certainly under the law of dying, even if not under the punishment of sin. (FC 103:324-25)

The lemma presented by Rufinus, and the text explicated by Origen, lacks the negative. After expounding on both the simple and potentially deeper meanings of the phrase “those who sinned in the likeness of Adam’s transgression” (and repeatedly citing variations of this phrase), Origen then acknowledges the variant reading (with the negative) and offers an exegesis for it. In this instance, he argues, it is claiming that death held dominion even over the saints who did not sin, so Christ descended among the dead to release them from the condition of death, not the condition that resulted from sin. Origen voices no preference between the two readings but continues with his discussion based on the version in the lemma.

[90] Lake et al. note that ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας is added in the margin of 1739 by “a late hand” (K. Lake, J. de Zwaan, and M. S. Enslin, “Codex 1739,” in *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts* [ed. K. Lake and S. New; Harvard Theological Studies 17; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932], 200).

Romans 7:6

107. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 6.7.17 [Rufinus?]

1: mortui [ἀποθανόντες] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: mortis [τοῦ θανάτου] (D F G it vg^{cl}; Or$^{lat\ mss}$ Ambst)

> Et ideo dicit: “Soluti sumus a lege mortui.” Nisi enim quis mortuus fuerit cum Christo, ab ista lege non solvitur. Scio et in aliis exemplaribus scriptum: “a lege mortis, in qua detinebamur.” Sed hoc, id est, “mortui,” et verius est et rectius. (Heither, 3:250)

> And for this reason he says, “Having died, we have been discharged from the law.” For unless someone has died with Christ, he is not discharged from that law. I am aware as well that in some copies it is written, “from the law of death in which we were being held.” This, however, i.e., “having died,” is both truer and more correct. (FC 104:28)

The lemma presented by Rufinus and explicated by Origen reads the participle, “having died.” After discussing the nature of the law intended by Paul in this verse (the law governing our members rather than the law of Moses; cf. Rom 7:23), Origen explains that “having died” refers to our death and burial with Christ in baptism, because only through this death with Christ can one be discharged from the law. The commentator then notes that some MSS do read “from the law of death,” but he quickly dismisses it and moves on since “having died” is the more accurate reading.[91] The discussion then continues with the next part of the verse.

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[91] Hammond Bammel (*Römerbrieftext*, 220-22) notes that since Origen’s discussion is clearly based on the reading ἀποθανόντες, it is possible that the comment about the variant was inserted by Rufinus regarding the Latin MSS. The Western witnesses for the alternate reading, as well as the lack of any mention in 1739, support this suggestion. Scheck, however, says, “The variant belongs to the Greek textual tradition. Thus, this comment is Origen’s, not Rufinus’s” (p. 28, n. 164). If the only evidence in favor of Origen is that the variant appears in the Greek tradition, then this is not enough to arrive at Scheck’s conclusion.

Romans 7:18

108. Augustine, *C. Jul.* 3.62

1: non invenio [οὐχ εὑρίσκω] D F G Ψ 33 𝔐 latt sy; Ir^{lat}

2: non [οὔ] ℵ A B C 6. 81. 1739. 1881 *pc* co; Meth Did [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> Hoc enim volumus, cum perfectionem justitiae concupiscimus; hoc intentione non intermissa velle debemus: sed quia id perficere in ista corruptibili carne non possumus, ideo dixit ad Romanos, *Velle adjacet mihi, perficere autem bonum non invenio* (*Rom*. VII, 18). Vel, sicut habent codices graeci, *Velle adjacet mihi, perficere autem bonum non:* id est, non mihi adjacet perficere bonum. Non ait; Facere; sed, *perficere bonum.* Quia facere bonum, est post concupiscentias non ire (*Eccli*. XVIII, 30): perficere autem bonum, est non concupiscere. Quod ergo est ad Galatas, *Concupiscentias carnis ne perfeceritis:* hoc e contrario est ad Romanos, *Perficere autem bonum non invenio.* Quia nec illae perficiuntur in malo, quando eis non accedit nostrae voluntatis assensus: nec nostra voluntas perficitur in bono, quamdiu illarum cui non consentimus permanet motus. (PL 44:734)

> This is the effect which we will when we long for the fulfillment of justice, and we ought not to will with careless intention. But because we cannot fulfill it in this corruptible flesh, he therefore says to the Romans: “To will is within my reach, but I do not find it in me to fulfill what is good”—or, as the Greek copies have, “To will is within my reach, but not to fulfill what is good.” He does not say he is unable to do good, but unable to fulfill what is good; for to do good is not to chase after lusts, but to fulfill what is good is not to lust. Therefore, what is written to the Galatians, “Do not fulfill the lusts of the flesh,” is put to the Romans conversely: “but I do not find it in me to fulfill what is good.” These lusts are not fulfilled in evil when the assent of our will is withheld from them; and our will is not fulfilled in good as long as their activity, to which we do not consent, remains. (FC 35:162 [modified])

Augustine is explaining what Paul means when he discusses warring against the flesh, particularly in Romans and Galatians. Augustine argues that fleshly desires are not absent in the believer, but those desires are not fulfilled or acted upon unless the spirit consents. He determines that while we cannot attain perfection, we should strive for it, and cites Rom 7:18 as evidence, along with a variant reading from the Greek copies. He does not dwell on the variant but moves forward by comparing the verse with Gal 5:16

and repeating the Latin version of Rom 7:18. Augustine emphasizes that Paul's point here is this: evil desires do not come to pass unless our will assents, and our will to do good is not fulfilled as long as evil deeds persist. This is the war between the spirit and the flesh. Augustine concludes the section with Rom 7:25 and passes on to discuss original sin and its implications.

Romans 8:11

109. Pseudo-Athanasius, *De sancta trinitate* 3.20 [Didymus?][92]

1: τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ℵ A C(*) P^c 81. 104. 1505. 1506. *l* 249 *al* f m sy^h; Cl [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: τὸ ἐνοικοῦν B D F G Ψ 33. 1739. 1881 𝔐 lat sy^p; Ir^{lat}

> Ὀρθ. Λέγει Παῦλος· « Ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκέτ' ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκὶ, εἴπερ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. Εἰ δέ τις Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν δι' ἁμαρτίαν, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ζωὴ διὰ δικαιοσύνην. Εἰ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν οἰκεῖν ἐν ὑμῖν, ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν. » Μακεδ. Οὕτως οὐ γέγραπται, διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐνοικοῦν. Ὀρθ. Ἐὰν δειχθῇ, ὅτι « διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος » γέγραπται πείθῃ, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι φύσεως τὸ Πνεῦμα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ; Μακεδ. Ἐὰν οὖν που ἓν ἢ δεύτερον ἀντίγραφον εὑρεθῇ ἐσφαλμένον παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐκ τούτου ἔχεις με πεῖσαι; Ὀρθ. Ἔχομεν δεῖξαι. ὅτι ἐν ὅλοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις οὕτω γέγραπται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νομίζεις τοῦτο ἀντιλεγόμενον εἶναι, πληροφορήθητι καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης γραφικῆς ἀποδείξεως. Μακεδ. Εἰπέ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντιλέγεται. (PG 28:1233)

> Orth.: Paul says, "But you are not in the flesh, since the spirit of God dwells in you. But if someone does not have the spirit of Christ, this one is not of Him. But if Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the spirit of the one who raised

[92] A number of scholars now attribute this work to Didymus, although debate continues and opinion varies by individual Dialogue; see A. Günthör, *Die sieben pseudo-athanasianischen Dialoge, ein Werk Didymus' des Blinden von Alexandrien* (Rome: Herder, 1941); cf. A. Heron, "The Two Pseudo-Athanasian Dialogues against the Anomoeans," *JTS* 24 (1973): 101-22, on Dialogues 1-2.

Jesus Christ is to dwell in you, the one who raised Christ from the dead will bring life even to your mortal bodies through his indwelling spirit that is in you" [Rom 8:9-11].

Maced.: Thus is it not written, "through the indwelling" but "in order to indwell."

Orth.: If it may be shown that "through the indwelling" is written, then would it persuade that the spirit is of the same nature with the Father and the Son?

Maced.: Then, if somewhere one or a second copy may be found which is corrupted by you, you use this to persuade me?

Orth.: We use it to show that in all the ancient copies it is written in this way. But since you consider this to be refuted, be satisfied also by another written proof.

Maced.: Speak; for this is refuted.

The Macedonian and his orthodox opponent are debating the Spirit's relation to the Trinity. The Macedonian asks his interlocutor to prove that the Spirit gives life in the same way as the Father and the Son. The orthodox speaker presents Rom 8:9-11 as a proof text, but the Macedonian is aware of a textual variant here and claims that the text has been intentionally altered to argue this point. The orthodox speaker asserts that the oldest copies have his reading, but he concedes that if the Macedonian will not be persuaded by this evidence, then they will have to move on to the next piece of evidence. The Macedonian believes he has sufficiently refuted this text and tells his conversation partner to move on. The next proof text they consider is 2 Cor 3:5-6; they continue the debate without returning to the issue of the variant.

Romans 8:22

110. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 7.4.7, 14 [Rufinus?]

1: condolet [συνωδίνει] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: parturit [ὀδύνει][93] F G a

[93] This is the only variant listed in NA and Swanson, so it is assumed to be the variant behind the Latin. The distinction in the Latin verbs, however, is much more pronounced than between the two Greek readings and therefore could indicate a difference in Latin translations (i.e., a Latin variant rather than a

Ait autem Paulus scire se et similes sibi, “quoniam omnis creatura congemiscit et condolet usque adhuc”, vel ut in aliis habetur exemplaribus, “congemiscit et parturit usque adhuc”.

Si vero, ut in aliis exemplaribus invenitur, ita legamus: “congemiscit et parturit”, secundum illum sensum accipiemus “parturit”, quo dicit apostolus genuisse se per evangelium eos, quos per fidem Christi produxit ad lucem. . . . (Heither, 4:50, 58)

Yet Paul says that he and those like him know “that creation groans together and suffers grief together until now”; or, as other copies read, “groans together and suffers birth pains until now.”

But if, as is found in other copies, we should read that text this way: “groans together and suffers birth pains,” we shall understand “to suffer birth pains” in the sense in which the Apostle says that through the gospel he had begotten those whom he brought forth to the light through faith in Christ. . . . (FC 104:68-69, 72)

Taking the meaning of the two verbs (groaning and grieving) together, Origen explains that creation, although it has no cause to groan on its own, groans together with humanity under the same burden of slavery to death. The commentary only mentions the variant here in passing.[94] Toward the end of the discussion of vv. 18-22, however, Origen returns to the same passage and again mentions the variant (“suffers birth pains”), this time explicating the variant based on the occurrence of the same verb in Gal 4:19: just as Paul suffered birth pains for those he brought forth in Christ, so also creation suffers in labor for those whom it brought forth to salvation. Before moving on to the next set of verses, Origen once again cites the lemma and explains why in this verse Paul refers to “all creation,” whereas elsewhere he refers only to “creation.”

Greek one). But this may also be a translational choice by Rufinus to keep the variant distinct from the reading “condolet,” since he uses both “condolet” and “dolet” throughout the discussion.

[94] While the mention of the variant and the alternate exegesis based on it are consistent with Origen’s treatment of variants elsewhere (see Chap. 2 in Vol. I), the Western support for the alternate reading, along with the lack of any mention in 1739, tip the scales in favor of Rufinus originating the discussion of the variant. Hammond Bammel states that Origen could have made the comments about labor pains without noting a variant (describing, rather, multiple meanings of the same verb), and Rufinus therefore used the opportunity to insert a variant from the Latin tradition (*Römerbrieftext*, 223-25; see also her discussion of the wider MS evidence for the various readings in Latin and in Origen).

Romans 12:11

111. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. Rom.* 12:11

1: tempori [καιρῷ] D^{*,c} F G *pc*; Hier^{mss}

2: domino [κυρίῳ] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> Tempori servientes. {1b. in Graeco dicitur sic habere: domino servientes, quod nec loco ipsi conpetit. quid enim opus erat summam hanc ponere totius devotionis, cum quando singula membra, quae ad obsequia et servitia dei pertinent, memoret? in omnibus enim his quae enumerat plenum deo servitium exhibetur.} 2. {nam} servire tempori quid sit alibi absolvit (solvit), cum dicit: redimentes tempus, quoniam [quia] dies mali sunt, ut sciatis quemadmodum unicuique respondeatis. quoniam autem dixerat: spiritu ferventes, ne hoc sic acciperent, ut passim et inportune verba religionis ingererent {tempore inimico}, per quod forte scandalum excitarent, statim subiecit: tempori servientes, ut moderate (modeste) et cum honestate aptis et locis et personis {et} apto tempore religionis fidem loquerentur. sunt enim quidam {etiam [et] in hoc tempore, quo pax est}, qui sic perhorrent verba dei, ut audientes cum magna ira blasfement viam Christi. {2a. nam et ipse servivit tempori, quando quod noluit fecit; invitus enim circumcidit Timotheum et raso capite purificatus secundum legem ascendit templum, ut Iudaeorum sopiret insaniam.} (CSEL 81.1:404-5)[95]

> "Serving the time." {1b. In Greek it is said to have: "serving the Lord," which is not suited to this very location. For why is it necessary to put forth this sum of total devotion, since at a certain point he would recall individual members, who extend acts of obedience and service to God? For in all these whom he recounts, full service to God is already exhibited.} 2. {For} to "serve the time," which it should be, he unraveled (explained) elsewhere, when he says, "redeeming the time, because [since] the days are evil" [Eph 5:16], "so that you may know how you should respond to each one" [Col 4:6; cf. v. 5]. Since, however, he has said "being fervent in spirit" [Rom 12:11], they might not understand this in this way, so that they would have poured forth religious words indiscriminately and inappropriately {at an adverse time}, by which they might erect a strong stumbling block; he therefore added immediately: "serving the time" so that in moderation (modestly) and with respectability, in appropriate places and roles {and} at an appropriate time for religion, they would speak about faith. For there are some {even in this time, when there is peace}, who bristle at the words of God

[95] CSEL presents the text for MSS α and β together on p. 404 and MS γ on p. 405. The only two differences between the two pages are noted here in square brackets immediately following the word that the variant replaces. The parentheses and rounded brackets are original to CSEL.

> so much that when they hear them, with great anger they blaspheme the way of Christ. For a person has even "served the time" when one has done what one did not want to do; for reluctantly he [Paul] circumcised Timothy, and he went up into the temple with his head shaved, purified according to the law, in order to quiet the outrage of the Jews.

Ambrosiaster exegetes Rom 12:11 phrase by phrase, finally turning to the third phrase and quoting as his lemma "serving the time." He immediately points out that the Greek MSS have a different reading, but based on the context in Romans, he does not find this reading appropriate here: since Paul's Roman audience is already serving the Lord, as Paul points out in the letter, he does not need to include that in his exhortations. Having dismissed this reading, Ambrosiaster then passes on to the lemma, "serving the time." He points out that Paul has explained this phrase further in Eph 5:16 (cf. Col 4:5-6), to redeem the time in order to know how to answer each person. Ambrosiaster says that in Rom 12:11, Paul adds the admonition to "serve the time" after "be fervent in the Spirit" so that the audience would not misunderstand and apply their enthusiasm at inappropriate places and times, which could provoke their listeners. Ambrosiaster gives an example from Paul's life of how one may serve the time even reluctantly. He then passes on to v. 12, starting with "After he said 'serving the time,' he added 'rejoicing in hope,'" and thus follows the series of participles to build the meaning of each upon the next, so that he continues with the theme of time when exegeting this phrase, and hope when exegeting the next.

112. Jerome, *Ep.* 27.3

1: domino [κυρίῳ] (see above)

2: tempori [καιρῷ]

> illi legant: spe gaudentes, tempori seruientes, nos legamus: spe gaudentes, domino seruientes. . . . (CSEL 54:225)

> They may say if they will, "rejoicing in hope; serving *the time*," but we will say "rejoicing in hope; serving *the Lord*." (NPNF 2.6:44)

In this brief letter to Marcella, Jerome is defending charges made against him for introducing changes into the NT when he began to revise the Latin against the Greek. After more general (and polemical) comments, in the third paragraph of the letter Jerome offers a list of examples of texts that he has corrected against the Greek. He mentions first Rom 12:11, then follows with further examples of textual problems from 1 Tim 5:19-20 and 1:15 (see §§169, 167 [respectively], below). For each of these verses, Jerome merely cites what the opponents would read (in their Latin copies), and then what he would read based on the Greek texts. After this, he closes the letter with a translation issue in Matt 21:2-5.

113. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 9.10 [Rufinus]

1: domino [κυρίῳ] (see above)

2: tempori [καιρῷ]

> *Domino servientes.* Ille Domino servit, qui potest dicere: "Nobis unus Dominus Iesus Christus, per quem omnia et nos per ipsum", nec ultra ei aut libido aut avaritia aut inanis gloria dominatur. Scio autem in nonnullis Latinorum exemplaribus haberi: "tempori servientes", quod non mihi videtur convenienter insertum, nisi si quis forte ita dictum putet ut in aliis idem apostolus ait: "Tempus breve est, superest ut, qui habent uxores, tamquam non habentes sint" vel ut illud dictum est: "redimentes tempus, quoniam dies mali sunt". (Heither, 5:70, 72)

> *Serve the Lord*. The one who is able to say, "For us there is one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom everything exists and we through him" [1 Cor 8:6], serves the Lord. No longer will he be ruled by lust or greed or vainglory. Now I am

> aware that several Latin copies have "serve the time,"[96] which does not seem to me to have been appropriately introduced, unless perhaps someone thinks that it was said in the sense in which the same Apostle says elsewhere, "The time is short, it remains that even those who have, should be as if they did not have" [1 Cor 7:29]; or as that which has been said, "redeeming the time, because the days are evil" [Eph 5:16]. (FC 104:213)

As this part of the commentary addresses the chapter clause by clause, Origen discusses the phrase "serve the Lord," and then Rufinus (perhaps expanding upon a comment by Origen) notes that some Latin MSS have a different reading, "serve the time." The commentator (whether Origen or Rufinus) continues by evaluating that the variant does not seem appropriate to the context, although it may be consistent with other Scriptures. While doubt is cast on the variant, it is not explicitly rejected, nor is either reading discussed further as the commentary then turns to the next verse.

Romans 12:13

114. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 9.12 [Rufinus]

1: usibus [χρείαις] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: memoriis [μνείαις] D* F G t vg^{mss}; Ambst

> *Usibus sanctorum communicantes.* Memini in Latinis exemplaribus magis haberi: "memoriis sanctorum communicantes", verum nos nec consuetudinem turbamus nec veritati praeiudicamus, maxime cum utrumque conveniat aedificationi. Nam usibus sanctorum honeste et decenter, non quasi stipem indigentibus praebere, sed censum nostrum cum ipsis quodammodo habere communem et meminisse sanctorum sive in collectis solemnibus sive pro eo, ut ex recordatione eorum proficiamus, aptum et conveniens videtur. (Heither, 5:72)

> *Share in the needs of the saints.* I remember that the Latin copies have, rather, "Share in the remembrances of the saints." But we should not disturb the tradition

[96] Scheck includes a footnote here: "In the present sentence Rufinus is addressing his Latin readers, but the variant belongs to the Greek tradition and, therefore, the original discussion probably derives from Origen."

> or prejudice the truth, especially since both [readings] contribute to edification.[97] For to supply the needs of the saints, sincerely and becomingly, not as if they crave alms, but as those who possess our wealth, so to speak, in common with them, and to remember the saints, whether at church services or instead that we might make progress by the memory of them, seem appropriate and fitting. (FC 104:214)

In this portion of the commentary, Origen continues to address the text clause by clause. After quoting the lemma, his translator, Rufinus, adds that the Latin copies read not "needs" but "remembrances."[98] The commentator (Rufinus or Origen) proceeds to explain that either reading can equally edify, and so an interpretation is offered for each. The commentary then continues with the next phrase in v. 13 without further discussion of either variant.

115. Pelagius, *Comm. Rom.* 12:13

1: necessitatibus [χρείαις] (see above)

2: memoriis [μνείαις][99]

> *Necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes.* Ministrate eis qui propter Christum sua omnia contemnentes, alienis ad tempus indigent ministeriis. quidam codices habent: *memoriis sanctorum communicantes;* quod ita intellegitur ut meminerint qualiter sancti uel quibus operibus promeruerint deum, et participes eorum fiant imitantes exempla. (Souter, 2:98)

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[97] The brackets are present in the translation. Scheck includes a footnote here, referring back to the note on Rom 12:11 (see §113, above) and adding ,"This variant belongs to the Greek tradition and thus can be traced to Origen." He also comments that Westcott attributes the discussion of the variant to Rufinus as well.

[98] Hammond Bammel notes that while Rufinus is responsible for adding the comment about the Latin MSS, the mention of the variant by Theodore of Mopsuestia (see §116, below) shows that the variant was also known by Greek fathers, so it is possible that Origen himself did originally mention the variant in his commentary (*Römerbrieftext*, 228).

[99] See Souter (1:120-21): "Now *necessitatibus* is the Vulgate reading, with almost no Old-Latin support; *memoriis* is the Old-Latin reading, supported by the one, but very important Vulgate codex, Amiatinus, which is however not backed up by Cassiodorus here."

> *Sharing in the needs of the saints*. Provide for those who need the services of others for a while because they neglect their own affairs on account of Christ. Some codices read: *Sharing in remembrances of the saints*. This should be understood in such a way that they remember in what manner and with what works the saints won favour with God, and become partners with them by imitating their examples. (De Bruyn)[100]

Commenting on the text phrase by phrase, Pelagius first explains the meaning of the lemma, then mentions a variant reading and equally offers an exegesis for this alternate reading. Without further comment on either reading, he then turns to the next phrase, focusing on hospitality and the example of Abraham and Lot.

116. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Fr. Rom.* 12:13

1: χρείαις (see above)

2: μνείαις

> Ταῖς χρείαις, φησί, τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες. ἔνια δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ταῖς μνείαις ἔχει, τῆς αὐτῆς οὔσης διανοίας· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι δίκαιον ὑμᾶς μνημονεύειν πάντοτε τῶν ἁγίων, κοινάς τε αὐτῶν τὰς χρείας νομίζειν καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐπικουφίζειν τὴν ἔνδειαν. (Staab, 162)

> It reads, "contributing to the needs of the saints." But some of the copies have "to the memories," which has the same meaning; for he says that it is right for us to remember the saints always, both to consider their general needs and thus to support them in their poverty.

In this scholion, the lemma is first quoted, then a variant is mentioned in some MSS. The variant is explicated as having basically the same meaning as the lemma. For, to remember the saints is to remember and support them in their needs.

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[100] *Pelagius's Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (trans. T. De Bruyn; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 134.

Romans 16:3

117. Theodoret, *Comm. Rom*. 16:3

1: Πρίσκιλλαν 81. 365. 614. 629. 630. 945. 1505. 1881[c] *al* a m vg[mss] sy (bo[pt]); Ambst

[NA, Metzger]

2: Πρίσκαν (majority of witnesses)

> Ἡ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην μνημονευομένη καὶ ταύτην ὑπερηκόντισε Τὴν γὰρ Πρίσκιλλαν, ἢ Πρίσκαν (ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις). καὶ τὸν ᾿Ακύλαν συνεργοὺς καλεῖ, καὶ προστίθησι τὸ, *ἐν Χριστῷ ᾿Ιησοῦ,* ἵνα μή τις ὑπολάβῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς τέχνης αἰνίττεσθαι· σκηνοποιοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ οὗτοι. (PG 82:220)
>
> The woman mentioned after her, however, surpassed even her: Priscilla, or Prisca (you can find both forms in the books), and Aquila he calls *fellow workers* and adds the phrase *in Christ Jesus* in case anyone should get the idea of a professional association, they being tent makers like him. (R. Hill)[101]

Commenting on Rom 16:1-3, Theodoret first discusses Phoebe and the compliments Paul is paying her. He then mentions Priscilla, whom he says even surpassed Phoebe. Theodoret only notes in passing that her name is also known as Prisca but makes no distinction between the two names.[102] After pointing out that Aquila and Priscilla were fellow believers, not merely business associates, Theodoret quickly moves on to v. 4 and the other virtues of this couple mentioned by Paul.

Romans 16:5

118. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 10.19.1 [Rufinus]

(See Additional Texts.)

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[101] *Theodoret of Cyrus: Commentary on the Letters of St. Paul* (trans. R. C. Hill; Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2001), 1:136.

[102] It is possible that Theodoret is not referring to a variant reading but merely the alternate spelling of her name throughout Scripture ("the books" then indicating other scriptural writings rather than other copies of Romans). However, there is a variant otherwise attested in this verse.

Romans 16:25-27

119. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 3:5-7

1: *include* (see below)

2*: *omit* F G 629; Hier[mss]

> Qui volunt prophetas non intellexisse quod dixerint, et [*Al.* sed] quasi in ecstasi locutos, cum praesenti testimonio, illud quoque quod ad Romanos in plerisque codicibus invenitur, ad confirmationem sui dogmatis trahunt, legentes: *Ei autem qui potest vos roborare juxta Evangelium meum, et praedicationem Jesu Christi secundum revelationem mysterii temporibus aeternis taciti, manifestati autem nunc per Scripturas propheticas, et adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi,*[103] et reliqua. Quibus breviter respondendum est, temporibus praeteritis tacitum Christi fuisse mysterium, non apud eos qui illud futurum pollicebantur, sed apud universas gentes quibus postea manifestatum est. (PL 26:481)
>
> Those who want the prophets not to have understood what they said, and to have spoken in ecstasy, as it were, attempt to confirm their doctrine by dragging in, along with the present testimony, this, too, which is found in many manuscripts to the Romans, 'Now to him who is able to strengthen you according to my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery kept secret from eternal times but now revealed through the prophetic Scriptures and the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ' etc. (Rom. 16:25-6; 1 Tim. 6:14; 2 Tim. 1:10). To these we must briefly respond that the mystery of Christ had been kept secret in times past not among those who were announcing that it was to be but among all the Gentiles to whom it was afterwards revealed.[104] (Heine, 147-48)

In his commentary on Ephesians 3, Jerome discusses Paul's reference to the "mystery of Christ" and whether that mystery revealed by Paul was understood in

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[103] Romans 16:25-27 has a complicated textual history, so it would be helpful if Jerome had been more specific about what exactly was "found in many manuscripts," and where it was found. Here, I have assumed (with the editors of NA and UBS) that he is talking about the inclusion or omission of the complete doxology. However, Jerome also cites a variant within the doxology: the inclusion of "et adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi ([καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] Or Hier[mss]).

[104] This entire translation excerpt is italicized in Heine, indicating a parallel with Origen's commentary. Although there is no extant parallel text from Origen, Heine says, "This entire section [Eph 3:5ff.] must surely come from Origen, except in the few obvious insertions by Jerome concerning Latin style and language" (144 n. 6). Hammond Bammel agrees that the mention of the MS evidence in particular derives from Origen (*Römerbrieftext*, 230).

previous generations. Jerome notes that some people, those who would argue that the prophets themselves did not understand the mystery but only prophesied ecstatically, quote a passage found in many copies of Romans, which refers to the mystery being kept a secret from ancient times. He does not comment on the variant but concludes his argument on Eph 3:5-7, explaining that the mystery of Christ was kept a secret not from the prophets but from the Gentiles, and that as the Romans quotation says, that mystery has now been revealed to the Gentiles only through the prophetic Scriptures and the coming of Christ.

120. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 10.43.2

1: vv. 25-27 after 16:23/24 𝔓^{61} ℵ B C D 81. 365. 630. 1739. 2464. *al* a b vg sy^{p} co;

> Or$^{\text{lat mss}}$ Ambst [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: vv. 25-27 after 14:23 Ψ 0209$^{\text{vid}}$ 𝔐 m$^{\text{vid}}$ sy^{h}; Or$^{\text{lat mss}}$

> Caput hoc Marcion, a quo scripturae evangelicae atque apostolicae interpolatae sunt, de hac epistula penitus abstulit, et non solum hoc, sed et ab eo loco, ubi scriptum est: “Omne autem, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est”, usque ad finem cuncta dissecuit. In aliis vero exemplaribus, id est in his, quae non sunt a Marcione temerata, hoc ipsum caput diverse positum invenimus. In nonnullis etenim codicibus post eum locum, quem supra diximus, hoc est “omne autem, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est”, statim cohaerens habetur: “Ei autem, qui potens est vos confirmare”. Alii vero codices in fine id, ut nunc est positum, continent. (Heither, 5:280)

> Marcion, by whom the evangelical and apostolic Scriptures have been interpolated, completely removed this section from this epistle; and not only this but he also cut up everything from the place where it is written, “But all that is not from faith is sin,” [14:23] to the end. But, in other copies, i.e., in those that have not been desecrated by Marcion, we find this section itself placed in different locations. For in several manuscripts, after the passage we cited above, that is “All that is not from faith is sin,” immediately joining this is rendered, “now to him who is able to strengthen you.” But other manuscripts contain it at the end, as it now stands. (FC 104:307-8)

After introducing the doxology, Origen first explains that Marcion has mutilated the text at this point. Origen claims that Marcion completely omitted the doxology and cut up everything in the text from 14:23 to the end of Romans. Origen goes on to note, however, that even in copies not altered by Marcion, some have the doxology after 14:23, while others have the verses here, at the end of the letter.[105] After this preliminary comment, Origen turns to the content of the verses, dealing with them as an independent unit without offering further opinion on their location in the book (although, he does remark on the concluding "Amen" as an affirmation of the veracity of everything that came before, implying that it belongs at the end of the letter).

1 Corinthians 9:5

121. Jerome, *Jov.* 1.26

1: sorores [ἀδελφάς] (cf. ἀδελφήν [majority of witnesses]) [NA][106]

2: *omit* F G a b; Tert Ambst Pel

> Si autem nobis illud opposuerit ad probandum, quod omnes Apostoli uxores habuerint, *Numquid non habemus potestatem mulieres vel uxores circumducendi* (quia γυνὴ apud Graecos utrumque significat) *sicut caeteri Apostoli, et Cephas, et fratres Domini,* jungat et illud quod in Graecis codicibus est: *Numquid non habemus potestatem sorores mulieres, vel uxores circumducendi?* Ex quo apparet eum de aliis sanctis dixisse mulieribus, quae juxta morem Judaicum magistris de sua substantia ministrabant, sicut legimus ipsi quoque Domino factitatum. Nam, et ordo verborum hoc significat: *Numquid non habemus potestatem manducandi, et bibendi, aut sorores mulieres circumducendi* (I *Cor.* IX, 4, 5)? Ubi de

[105] While Hammond Bammel determines that the original discussion comes from Origen, she notes that the phrase "ut nunc est positum" may have been added by Rufinus to point out the current state of the MS evidence in his own time (*Römerbrieftext*, 229-30).

[106] Altogether, the Latin reading that Jerome presents is more expansive than the Greek; where the Greek reads simply ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα, the Latin expands on the Greek ambiguity to present both possibilities: "sorores mulieres, vel uxores." However, the only variant between the two Latin versions is "sorores." While Jerome does not directly state that "uxores" does not belong in the Latin text, he essentially argues against its validity by asserting that "sisters" cancels out the meaning "wives."

comedendo et bibendo, ac de administratione sumptuum praemittitur, et de mulieribus sororibus infertur, perspicuum est, non uxores debere intelligi, sed eas, ut diximus, quae de sua substantia ministrabant. Quod et in veteri Lege de Sunamitide illa scribitur, quae solita sit Elisaeum recipere, et ponere ei mensam, et panem, et candelabrum, et caetera. Aut certe si γυναῖκας, *uxores,* accipimus, non *mulieres,* id quod additur, *sorores,* tollit *uxores,* et ostendit eas germanas in spiritu fuisse, non conjuges. (PL 23:245-46)

But if, in order to show that all the Apostles had wives, he meets us with the words "Have we no right to lead about women or wives" (for γυνή in Greek has both meanings) "even as the rest of the apostles, and Cephas, and the brethren of the Lord?" let him add what is found in the Greek copies, "Have we no right to lead about women that are sisters, or wives?" This makes it clear that the writer referred to other holy women, who, in accordance with Jewish custom, ministered to their teachers of their substance, as we read was the practice with even our Lord himself. Where there is a previous reference to eating and drinking, and the outlay of money, and mention is afterwards made of women that are sisters, it is quite clear, as we have said, that we must understand, not wives, but those women who ministered of their substance. And we read the same account in the Old Testament of the Shunammite who was wont to welcome Elisha, and to put for him a table, and bread, and a candlestick, and the rest. At all events if we take γυναίκας to mean *wives*, not *women*, the addition of the word *sisters* destroys the effect of the word *wives*, and shews that they were related in spirit, not by wedlock. (NPNF 2.6:365)

In his treatise against Jovinian, Jerome is chiefly arguing in favor of asceticism to counter Jovinian's claims that it makes no difference whether one is celibate or married because all Christians receive an equal reward. In the latter half of book 1, Jerome addresses the case of several biblical figures; in section 26, he turns to the apostles. He grants Jovinian the point that Peter and other apostles were married, but Jerome argues that (a) when these men married they belonged to the generation of the law, not the gospel, because it was before Jesus died and rose again (i.e., before the new covenant was ratified), and (b) when they followed Jesus and became apostles, they gave up everything, including home and marriage (cf. Luke 18:28-30). Jerome must then address whether 1 Cor 9:5 refers to the apostles' wives, but he determines, based on a fuller reading in the Greek, that the text actually refers to other Christian women who provided for the church

and apostles out of their wealth (a situation not unfamiliar to Jerome in his own century). As scriptural evidence of such a case, he points to Elisha and the Shunammite woman. Jerome further asserts that there is no evidence any of the disciples besides Peter had wives. In fact, Jerome claims that John, the beloved disciple, was a virgin, and was beloved for this very reason. Jerome continues with a lengthy comparison between Peter and John, to prove John's superiority, before turning to yet more biblical passages on the theme of marriage and virginity.

1 Corinthians 10:22

122. Pelagius, *Comm. 1 Cor.* 10:22

(See Additional Texts.)

1 Corinthians 11:10

123. Theodore of Mopsuestia, catena on 1 Cor 11:4-5

(See Additional Texts.)

1 Corinthians 13:3

124. Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* 5:26

1: *glorier* [καυχήσομαι] 048 [cf. καυχήσωμαι 𝔓^{46} ℵ A B 33. 1739* *pc* co; Hier^{mss}]

[NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: *ardeam* [καυθήσομαι] C D F G L 6. 81. 104. 630. 945. 1175. 1881* *al* latt sy^{hmg}; Tert Ambst Hier^{mss} [cf. καυθήσωμαι Ψ 1739^{c}. 1881^{c} 𝔐]

> Scio in latinis codicibus in eo testimonio quod supra posui, *si tradidero corpus meum ut glorier, ardeam* habere pro *glorier*, sed ob similitudinem uerbi, quia

apud Graecos *ardeam* et *glorier,* id est καυθήσομαι et καυχήσομαι, una litterae parte distinguitur, apud nostros error inoleuit. Sed et apud ipsos Graecos exemplaria sunt diuersa. (CCSL 77A:203)

I am aware that in [some] Latin manuscripts in his testimony that I laid out above, "if I hand over my body in order to boast," "burn" occurs in place of "boast"; because of the likeness of the verb, which in the Greek "burn" and "boast," that is καυθήσομαι and καυχήσομαι, are distinguished by one part of a letter, an error has grown up among us. But also in the Greek copies themselves there is diversity.

In his discussion of the text from Galatians, Jerome adduces a number of verses from 1 and 2 Corinthians, including 1 Cor 13:3. At the end of this discussion, he then returns to this verse and notes in passing that there are Latin MSS that read "burn" rather than the reading he previously cited, "boast." He pauses to explain that the variant is due to a similarity between the Greek words, and therefore the variation present in the Greek copies is reflected in the Latin translations. He then continues on with his exposition of Gal 6:1.

1 Corinthians 15:5

125. Augustine, *Cons.* 3.71

1: duodecim [δώδεκα] (majority of witnesses) [NA, Metzger]

2: undecim [ἕνδεκα] D* F G latt sy^{hmg}

sic autem non apparet quibus duodecim, quemadmodum nec quibus quingentis. fieri enim potest, ut de turba discipulorum fuerint isti duodecim nescio qui. nam illos quos apostolos nominauit non iam duodecim, sed undecim diceret, sicut nonnulli etiam codices habent, quod credo perturbatos homines emendasse putantes de illis duodecim apostolis dictum, qui iam Iuda extincto undecim errant. sed siue illi codices uerius habeant qui undecim habent, siue alios quosdam duodecim apostolus Paulus uelit intellegi, siue sacratum illum numerum etiam in undecim stare uoluerit, quia duodenarius in eis numerus ita mysticus erat, ut non posset in locum Iudae nisi alius, id est Matthias, ad conseruandum sacramentum eiusdem numeri subrogari, quodlibet ergo eorum sit, nihil inde existit quod

> ueritati uel istorum alicui ueracissimo narratori repugnare uideatur. (CSEL 43:370-71)
>
> And thus it is not made clear who these twelve were, just as we are not informed who these five hundred were. It is quite possible, indeed, that the twelve here instanced were some unknown twelve belonging to the multitude of the disciples. For now the apostle might speak of those whom the Lord designated apostles, not as the twelve, but as the eleven. Some codices, indeed, contain this very reading. I take that, however, to be an emendation introduced by men who were perplexed by the text, supposing it to refer to those twelve apostles who, by the time when Judas disappeared, were really only eleven. It may be the case, then, that those are the more correct codices which contain the reading "eleven;" or it may be that Paul intended some other twelve disciples to be understood by that phrase; or, once more, the fact may be that he meant that consecrated number to remain as before, although the circle had been reduced to eleven: for this number twelve, as it was used of the apostles, had so mystical an importance, that, in order to keep the spiritual symbol of the same number, there could be but a single individual, namely, Matthias, elected to fill the place of Judas [Acts 1:26]. But whichever of these several views may be adopted, nothing necessarily results which can appear to be inconsistent with truth, or at variance with any one most trustworthy historian among them. (NPNF 1.6:215)

In chapter 25 (sections 70-86), Augustine is discussing the resurrection appearances and whether they can be harmonized, including Paul's testimony from 1 Corinthians. Augustine first addresses the appearances to the women, then turns to the men, specifically Peter and the "twelve" mentioned by Paul. Augustine determines that since the twelve are not named, they could be any twelve disciples since the Twelve would more appropriately now be the Eleven (sans Judas). In fact, he notes, some MSS have this reading. He proposes that "the eleven" is a conjectural emendation by those who are trying to avoid an inaccuracy in the biblical text, although he also notes that Paul may have meant the eleven disciples but preserved the number twelve here because of the number's significance (borne out by the fact that the number was soon brought back to twelve with the addition of Matthias). Either way, Augustine does not find anything contradictory or inaccurate in the text. For his purposes of harmonization, however, it

works out best to consider that the twelve mentioned by Paul include the two men on the road to Damascus, for which he cites Mark 16:12 as evidence and then compares the testimony in Luke.

126. Pseudo-Oecumenius, catena

(See Additional Texts.)

1 Corinthians 15:51

127. Acacius of Caesarea, Συμμίκτων ζητημάτων (*Miscellaneous Questions*; quoted by Jerome, *Ep*. 119.6-7)

1: omnes quidem dormiemus, non omnes autem inmutabimur [πάντες μὲν[107] κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα] ℵ C 0243*. 33. 1241^{s}. 1739 *pc*; Hier^{mss} (A*: οἱ *loco* οὐ)

2: non quidem omnes dormiemus, omnes autem inmutabimur [οὐ πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα] B D^{2} Ψ 075. 0243. 1881 𝔐 sy co; Hier^{mss} [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> Acacius, Caesareae, quae prius Turris Stratonis uocabatur, post Eusebium Pamphili episcopus, in quarto Συμμίκτων ζητημάτων libro proponens sibi hanc eandem quaestionem latius disputauit et utrumque suscipiens, quod inter se uidetur esse contrarium, post principium, quod omisimus, sic locutus est: ‘dicamus primum de eo, quod magis in plurimis codicibus inuenitur: ecce mysterium dico uobis: omnes quidem dormiemus, non omnes autem inmutabimur. mysterium dixit, ut adtentiores faceret auditores de resurrectione plenius disserturus. . . . Transeamus ad secundam lectionem, quae ita fertur in plerisque codicibus: non quidem omnes dormiemus, omnes autem inmutabimur. . . . hoc autem sciendum, quod magis conueniat ueritati ita legere: omnes quidem dormiemus, non omnes autem inmutabimur, maxime quia sequitur: mortui resurgent incorrupti et nos

[107] μὲν ℵ A C^{2} D^{2} F G Ψ 075. 33. 1881 𝔐 lat sy^{h}; Ambst (*omit* 𝔓^{46} B C* D* 0243*. 1739 *pc* b).

inmutabimur. si enim omnes sunt inmutandi iuxta alteram lectionem, quomodo postea dicitur quasi praecipuum atque priuatum et proprie apostolorum: et nos inmutabimur? quando autem dicit 'nos,' sanctos quosque significat.' (CSEL 55:452-54, 458)

Acacius, bishop of Caesarea (previously called Turris Stratonis) after Eusebius Pamphilius, lays out for himself this same question in the fourth book of *Miscellaneous Questions*. Taking up both readings, he discusses the matter more extensively, since there appears to be a contradiction between the two. After the beginning, which is omitted here, he continues as follows: "First, let us say concerning this that in most manuscripts is found rather, 'Look, I speak to you a mystery: indeed, we will all sleep, but we will not all be changed.' He speaks a mystery, in order to make his audience more fully attentive as he proceeds to discuss the resurrection. . . . Let us pass over to the second reading, which occurs in many manuscripts: 'Indeed we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed.' . . . But one should be aware of this, that it is truly more fitting to read, 'Indeed, we will all sleep, but we will not all be changed,' especially because it continues, 'The dead will rise incorruptible, and we will be changed.' If indeed *all* will be changed, as in the other reading, how is it said later, 'and *we* will be changed,' as though it is both limited and personal, and most appropriately said of the apostles? But when it says 'we,' it indicates all of the saints."

In this extensive quotation of Acacius, Jerome continues his discussion of 1 Cor 15:51, following a lengthy quotation of Didymus (see §130, below). Acacius first notes one reading, then provides a detailed exegesis of Paul's exposition in 1 Corinthians 15, reinforced by a quotation from Dan 12:2 on death and resurrection. In the next paragraph, Acacius sets aside the first reading to consider the second. In an even longer discussion, he cites a number of Pauline passages (especially from 1 and 2 Thessalonians) on death and the nature of the body, then broadens to include a number of biblical passages on the same theme. After carefully considering the implications of each reading based on an exegesis of Paul and other scriptural evidence, Acacius decides that the first reading is more logical to the passage, based on v. 52, which qualifies that only "we" will be changed.

128. Augustine, *Ep.* 193.10-11

1: resurgemus [ἀναστησόμεθα] D* lat; Tert Ambst Spec

2: dormiemus [κοιμηθησόμεθα] (see above)

> nam et illud, quod in plerisque codicibus legitur, 'omnes resurgemus' unde fieri poterit, nisi omnes moriamur? resurrectio quippe, nisi mors praecesserit, nulla est. et quod nonnulli codices habent 'omnes dormiemus', multo facilius et apertius id cogit intellegi. et si quid aliud tale in sanctis litteris inuenitur, ad id uidetur inpellere, ut nullus hominum existimetur inmortalitatem, nisi mors praecesserit, adepturus. . . . quae si ita esse constiterit, illa uerba excutienda erunt, quo modo sic accipiemus 'tu quod seminas, non uiuificatur, nisi moriatur', et 'omnes resurgemus' siue 'omnes dormiemus,' ut non aduersentur huic sententiae, qua quidam creduntur etiam cum suis corporibus in aeternum non degustata morte uicturi. (CSEL 57:173-74)
>
> For how is what we read in most manuscripts, *All of us will rise* (1 Cor 15:51), possible unless all of us die? There is certainly no resurrection unless death has come first. And what some manuscripts have, namely, *All of us will fall asleep*, makes us understand this same point much more easily and clearly, and anything else of the sort that is found in the holy writings seems to force us to the conclusion that no human being should be thought to attain immortality unless death has come first. . . . If it is established that this is the case, we must examine how we should then interpret the words, *What you sow is not brought to life unless it first dies* (1 Cor 15:36), and, *All of us will rise*, or, *All of us will fall asleep* (1 Cor 15:51), in order that they may not be opposed to this view by which it is believed that they will live with their bodies for eternity without having tasted death. (Teske, II/3:284-85)

In a reply to Mercator, Augustine is addressing the resurrection of the dead. He appeals to the standard Pauline texts, 1 Thessalonians 4 and 1 Corinthians 15, and is discussing whether at the coming of the Lord there will be some who will not die but, like Enoch and Elijah, will be taken directly into immortality. In contradiction to this, Augustine cites 1 Cor 15:36, and then v. 51. He notes the variant, but both readings make the same point: all must die in order to rise again. Throughout this paragraph, Augustine claims that he would like to hear the opinion of more learned people on the subject. He again refers to 1 Thessalonians 4, claiming that some who are still living will

be taken up at the Lord's return, and states that if this reading is to be taken at face value, then the other verses from 1 Corinthians 15 (which he repeats, including both the lemma and variant for v. 51) must be explained somehow. Without drawing an immediate conclusion to this matter, Augustine then shifts the discussion to death as punishment for sin.

129. Augustine, *Ep.* 205.14

1: resurgemus [ἀναστησόμεθα] (see above, Augustine)

2: dormiemus [κοιμηθησόμεθα] (see above, Acacius)

> . . . exponit, quid dixerit, adiciens: Ecce mysterium dico uobis; omnes quidem resurgemus—uel, sicut Graeci codices habent, omnes quidem dormiemus—, non tamen omnes inmutabimur. hanc inmutationem utrum in deterius an in melius intellegi uoluerit, inferiora demonstrant. (CSEL 57:334-35)

> As if someone had said this, he explains what he said and adds, *See, I am telling you a mystery. All of us will indeed rise*—or as some Greek manuscripts have, *All of us will indeed fall asleep—but not all of us will be transformed*. The following shows whether he wanted us to understand this transformation for the worse or for the better. (Teske, II/3:383)

In a letter to Consentius, Augustine answers his question about the nature of Christ's bodily form. This leads into a discussion of the resurrected body in 1 Corinthians 15. To answer a rhetorical question, How can the resurrected body be both flesh and not flesh? Augustine cites Luke 24:39 and then turns to 1 Corinthians 15, starting his quotation with v. 50. He then pauses after v. 51 to mention the variant in some Greek copies, and without further dwelling on it, proceeds with v. 52 and his explanation of the passage, emphasizing incorruptibility in contrast to the corruptibility of the damned.

130. Didymus, *Fr. 1 Cor.* 15:51; Jerome, *Ep.* 119.5

1: πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα (see above, Acacius)

2: οὐ πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα[108]

> Ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἀναστάσεως θεωρία βάθος ἔχει[ν] νοήσεως, εἰκότως φησίν· ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω· πάντες μὲν τεθνηξόμενοι κοιμηθησόμεθα, μόνοι δὲ οἱ δίκαιοι ἀλλαγησόμεθα, ἐκλάμψαντες ὡς ὁ ἥλιος· μόνοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον κατὰ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα μεταβάλλοντες ἀλλαγήσονται. οὐ γὰρ ἀκόλουθον λέγειν ἐν ἀλλάξει κατά τινα ἑτέραν φερομένην οὕτω γραφήν· οὐ πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα διὰ τὸ εὐθὺς ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα. εἰ γὰρ πάντες ἀλλάττονται, περιττὸν λέγεσθαι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα. (Staab, 11)
>
> Since an examination of the resurrection requires deep thought, he says fittingly, “Behold, I speak a mystery to you”; once dead, “we will all sleep,” but only the righteous among us “will be changed,” “shining like the sun” [cf. Matt 13:43]; for only those transforming for the better with respect to the soul and body will be changed. For it does not follow to say—like a certain other text that reads this way—that when the change occurs “we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed” because of the immediate addition “and we ourselves will be changed” [v. 52]. For if all change, it is superfluous to say “and we ourselves will be changed.”
>
> si non indigeret resurrectio interprete nec obscuritatem haberet in sensibus, numquam Paulus apostolus post multa, quae de resurrectione locutus est, intulisset: ecce mysterium dico uobis: omnes quidem dormiemus—id est, moriemur—, non omnes autem—sed soli sancti—inmutabimur. scio, quod in nonnullis codicibus scriptum sit: non quidem omnes dormiemus, omnes autem inmutabimur; sed considerandum, an, quod praemissum est: omnes inmutabimur, possit conuenire, quod sequitur: mortui resurgent incorrupti et nos inmutabimur. si omnes inmutabuntur et hoc commune cum ceteris, superfluum fuit dicere: et nos inmutabimur. quam ob rem ita legendum est: omnes quidem dormiemus, non omnes autem inmutabimur. (CSEL 55:449)

[108] In his first citation of the text, Didymus does not quote verbatim but adds a few words of interpretation, and while he does not quote the negative in the second phrase, he does qualify the statement, as though it does not apply to “all” (the “all” also is omitted). In the variant, he is closer to the wording of the text, although the word order in the first phrase is slightly altered. The translation by Jerome presents the readings more straightforwardly, closer to the wording of the text.

> If the resurrection needed no interpreter, nor had obscurity in sense, the Apostle Paul would never, after a lengthy discussion concerning the resurrection, have added: "Behold I speak to you a mystery: indeed, we will all sleep"—that is, die—"but we will not all"—but the saints alone—"be changed." Be aware that in some manuscripts is written: "Indeed, we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed." But consider whether this reading, "we will all be changed," would be able to agree with what follows: "The dead will rise incorruptible, and we will be changed." If all will be changed, and this means all people together, it would be superfluous to say, "and *we* will be changed." Therefore, it should read, "Indeed, we will all sleep, but we will not all be changed."

This Greek scholion is cited more extensively by Jerome in his *Ep.* 119. After Jerome has cited evidence in favor of the reading "Indeed, we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed," he turns to Didymus, who is of the opposite opinion (an opinion that Jerome traces back to Origen).[109] Jerome begins his citation at essentially the same place as the scholion, introducing the necessity of Paul speaking a mystery. Didymus states that not all, but only the righteous or holy, will be changed. He points out the variant, but decides based on v. 52 that if Paul goes on to qualify that *we* will be changed, then he could not have previously said "all." Jerome's quotation continues with further exegesis of the passage, explaining that sleep is a euphemism for that death which retains hope of resurrection.

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[109] There is no extant evidence from Origen discussing the variant (cf. the UBS apparatus, which has Origen's evidence for the readings split, one citation being from later in Jerome's same letter [119.9.4]), but Jerome studied with Didymus in Alexandria, so he could have firsthand knowledge of a tradition within the catechetical school that had been handed down initially from Origen.

131. Jerome, *Ep.* 119.2, 12

1: omnes quidem dormiemus, non autem omnes inmutabimur [πάντες μὲν

κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα] (see above, Acacius #1)

2: non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem inmutabimur [οὐ πάντες κοιμηθησόμεθα,

πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα] (see above, Acacius #2)

3: omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem inmutabimur [πάντες μὲν

ἀναστησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα] (see above, Augustine #1)

> Quaeritis, quo sensu dictum sit et quomodo in prima ad Corinthios epistula Pauli apostoli sit legendum: omnes quidem dormiemus, non autem omnes inmutabimur an iuxta quaedam exemplaria: non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem inmutabimur; utrumque enim in Graecis codicibus inuenitur. (CSEL 55:447)

> You are seeking in what sense might it have been said, and how in the Apostle Paul's first letter to the Corinthians it might have been read: "Indeed we will all sleep, but we will not all be changed." Or similarly some copies read: "We will not all sleep, but we will all be changed." In fact, each reading is found in the Greek manuscripts.

> illud autem breuiter in fine commoneo, hoc, quod in Latinis codicibus legitur: omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem inmutabimur, in Graecis uoluminibus non haberi, sed uel: omnes dormiemus, non omnes autem inmutabimur uel: non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem inmutabimur, quorum qui sensus sit, supra diximus. (CSEL 55:469)

> But in closure, I briefly call this to your attention: this reading, which is found in the Latin manuscripts: "Indeed we will all rise again, but we will not all be changed," is not present in the Greek books, but either, "We will all sleep, but we will not all be changed," or, "We will not all sleep, but we will all be changed." Whatever sense there might be to these two readings, we have discussed above.

These two quotations frame Jerome's larger discussion of 1 Cor 15:51, one of the two major issues that preoccupy the entire letter in response to the questions of monks Minervius and Alexander from Toulouse. After an opening paragraph, Jerome turns to the first of the two questions, regarding the meaning of 1 Cor 15:51 and the variant found

there. Jerome notes that both readings are found in the Greek copies. He then presents the commentaries on the verse from a number of fathers, starting with Theodore of Heraclea, followed by brief comments by Diodore of Tarsus and Apollinaris, all of whom seem to prefer the reading "We will not all sleep, but we will all be changed."[110] Jerome then gives an extended discussion of Didymus (the first of these authors to mention the variant; see §130, above), who follows Origen in preferring the other reading, "We will all sleep, but we will not all be changed," and then Acacius (who also notes the variant and prefers the latter reading; see §127, above). Jerome proceeds to the second question, relating to 1 Thess 4:15, and again cites a number of fathers. After this, at the end of the letter, Jerome briefly returns to the issue of the variant in 1 Cor 15:51, noting only in passing that there is also an additional variant known only in the Latin, but he refers back to the first half of the letter rather than adding further comments. With this, Jerome closes the letter.

132. Pseudo-Jerome, *Interpolation* 85

1: omnes enim dormiemus, non omnes mutabimur [πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα] (see above, Acacius)

2: omnes enim non dormiemus, omnes autem mutabimur [οὐ πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα]

> Aliter: In quibusdam Grecis codicibus habet: 'omnes enim dormiemus, non omnes mutabimur,' in aliis autem: 'omnes enim non dormiemus, omnes autem

[110] Jerome only cites Theodore as using this reading, but the brief sections on Diodore and Apollinaris point out their other consistencies with Theodore. The fact that Jerome sets Didymus up as though in contrast to the preceding opinions further suggests that all three of those fathers are of the same opinion on the textual form.

> mutabimur,' quod aptat magis ad sensum apostoli, quia hic sermo non de 'omnibus' generaliter dicitur nisi de solis sanctis. (Souter, 3:43)
>
> Alternately: In certain Greek manuscripts it says: "indeed, we will all sleep, we will not all be changed," but in others: "indeed, we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed"; although, [the former][111] fits better with the apostolic meaning, because this word is said not concerning "all" in general but only concerning the saints alone.

The lemma in Pelagius reads the Latin variation, "Indeed we will all rise again, [but] we will not all be changed" (see Souter, 2:225). After Pelagius's commentary on the verse, the interpolator adds the two Greek readings, first the version that is closer to the Latin lemma, and then the version that reverses the negatives. It is then explained, based on internal evidence, that the reading is to be preferred which is closer to the meaning of the apostle, which is in reference not to "all" but only to the saints. The interpolation ends here, and the text of Pelagius continues with v. 52.

133. Rufinus, *Symb.* 41

1: omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur [πάντες μὲν ἀναστησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα] (see above, Augustine #1)

2: omnes quidem non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur [οὐ πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα] (see above, Acacius #2)

> Et in sequentibus addit etiam haec: *Ecce mysterium uobis dico: omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur* (siue, ut in aliis exemplaribus inuenimus: *omnes quidem non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur): in momento in ictu oculi in nouissima tuba. Canet enim tuba: et mortui resurgent*

[111] If "quod" here means "which" and refers to the closest antecedent, then this is actually saying that the latter reading is preferable. However, if the argument that follows is a condensed version of the argument laid out by Didymus and Acacius in Jerome's *Ep.* 119 (and the commentator may very well be drawing his comment from that letter), then logically it refers back to the first reading, which is preferred by Didymus and Acacius.

incorrupti et nos immutabimur. Sed et ad Thessalonicenses nihilominus scribens dicit. . . . (CCSL 20:177-78)

And in what follows, (Paul) also adds this: “Behold, I tell you a mystery: indeed, we will all rise again, but we will not all be changed” (or, as we find in other copies, “indeed, we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed”), “in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will rise again incorruptible, and we will be changed.” Nevertheless, writing also to the Thessalonians he says, [1 Thess 4:13-17]. . . .

Rufinus is addressing the creedal issue of the resurrection of the flesh and cites scriptural evidence for resurrection, beginning with Paul. He quotes first from 1 Corinthians 15, including vv. 13-14, then vv. 20-24, and finally vv. 51-52. In the midst of this, he only mentions in passing the variant in v. 51. After that, he turns immediately to a quotation of 1 Thess 4:13-17, and then passes on to other biblical proofs on resurrection.

1 Corinthians 15:52

134. Jerome, *Ep.* 119.5 [Didymus?]

1: ῥιπῇ ℵ A B C D^{2} Ψ (33). 1881 𝔐 [NA]

2: ῥοπῇ 𝔓^{46} D* F G 0243. 6. 1739 *pc*

quodque sequitur iuxta Graecos, ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ siue ῥοπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ—utrumque enim legitur et nostri interpretati sunt in momento et in ictu siue in motu oculi—, ita explanauit. . . . ictusque oculi siue motus, qui Graece dicitur ῥοπή, tanta uelocitate transcurrit, ut paene sensum uidentis effugiat. uerum quia in plerisque codicibus pro ῥοπῇ, id est ictu uel motu, ῥιπῇ legitur, hoc sentire debemus, quod, quomodo leuis pluma uel stipula aut tenue siccum folium uento flatuque raptat uret de terra ad sublime transfertur, sic ad oculum uel motum dei omnium mortuorum corpora mouebuntur parata ad aduentum iudicis.[112] (CSEL 55:450-51)

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[112] In PL, this latter half of the quotation is included within the Didymus citation. In CSEL, however, the punctuation does not indicate clearly where Jerome’s commentary ends and Didymus’s text resumes. Thus, either the entire discussion of the variant belongs to Jerome and has been interjected into

> Whatever follows next in Greek, "in a moment, in the blinking (ῥιπῇ)" or "movement (ῥοπῇ) of an eye"—for it reads both and we translate, "in a moment, and in the blink (*ictu*)" or "in the motion (*motu*) of an eye"—, he explains thus. . . . And the blink of an eye, or motion, which in the Greek reads ῥοπή, passes with great speed, so that it nearly escapes being seen. Because, however, in many manuscripts for ῥοπῇ, which is *ictu*, it actually reads ῥιπῇ, *motu*, we ought to understand this, that in the manner a light feather or stubble or a thin, dry leaf is carried off by the blowing wind and is transported from the ground to the sky, in the same way to the eye, or motion, of God the bodies of all the dead will be set in motion, preparing for the arrival of the judge.

As part of his discussion of 1 Cor 15:51, Jerome has cited Didymus's exposition on this verse. In the midst of the section on Didymus (see Didymus on 1 Cor 15:51 [§130, above], which precedes the portion quoted here), there is a commentary on the variant in v. 52 in the Greek text and an explanation of the Latin equivalents.[113] The larger discussion moves from treating the variant in v. 51 (where v. 52 is cited as evidence in relation to the variant) to noting the beginning of v. 52. There are two readings in the Greek, differing only by one letter, which have led to divergent readings in the Latin. Jerome then quotes or explains Didymus's comments on the verse, regarding the "moment" in the opening phrase and whether it can be separated into the notion of a first and second resurrection. After this, the discussion passes on to the next phrase, the blink or movement of an eye (noting both the Greek and the Latin). This is followed by an extended quotation of vv. 52b-53 and a discussion of the trumpet and resurrection.

Didymus's discussion, or Jerome first clarifies the variant for his Latin audience before citing Didymus's discussion of it.

[113] While the explanation of the Latin readings certainly belongs to Jerome, it is unclear where the seams are between Jerome's comments and the resumption of Didymus's commentary (see the previous footnote). It is therefore unclear whether Didymus initially noted the variant, or Jerome. The presence of the Greek, and the continuation with Didymus's commentary, suggest Didymus is responsible for the variant discussion. But Jerome has certainly interjected some of his own comments within the discussion.

2 Corinthians 1:1

135. Didymus, *Fr. 2 Cor.* 1:1

(See Additional Texts.)

2 Corinthians 5:3

136. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. 2 Cor.* 5:2-3

1: induti [ἐνδυσάμενοι] 𝔓^{46} ℵ B C D^{2} Ψ 0243. 33. 1739. 1881 𝔐 lat sy co; Cl

[Metzger]

2: expoliati [ἐκδυσάμενοι] D$^{*.c}$ a f^{c}; Mcion Tert Spec [NA, UBS]

> Etenim in hoc ingemescimus habitaculo nostro, quod de caelo est, superindui cupientes. siquidem induti, non nudi inveniamur. propterea dicit in precibus ingemesci, ut gloria promissa de caelis possit resurgentes induere. hoc ergo desiderantes insistunt precibus, ne surgentes recepto utique corpore nudi, id est alieni a promissa gloria inveniantur. hoc enim opus est, ut induta anima corpore dei iudicio superinduatur et gloria, quae est inmutatio in claritatem. mors enim de terra est, resurrectio vero de caelis, si tamen inmutetur in gloriam. alii codices sic habent: siquidem expoliati, non nudi inveniamur. id est si exeuntes de corpore Christum vestiti fuerimus, quia quicumque in Christo baptizantur Christum induunt. itaque si in forma baptismi et traditione manserimus, expoliati corpore non nudi invenimur, quia in interiore homine habitat Christus, quem cum induti sive spiritu sancto dato nobis videbimur, erimus digni superindui promissa caelesti gloria. in illum enim decidet promissa claritas, quem viderit signum adoptionis habere. (CSEL 81.2:229)

> "For indeed we groan in this habitation of ours, which is from heaven, longing to be clothed. If indeed we have been clothed, we will not be found naked" [2 Cor 5:2-3]. Therefore he says in prayers and groans that the promised glory of heaven could clothe the resurrected. This, then, the supplicants dwell upon in prayers, not rising naked in the body assuredly by the guarantee, i.e. that they would be found strangers by the promised glory. For this is necessary so that a soul clothed by the body at the judgment of God would be clothed even more by glory, which is a change into radiance. For death is from the earth, resurrection is truly from heaven, if only it might be changed into glory. Other manuscripts have this: "If indeed we have been stripped, we will not be found naked." In other words, if we depart from the body, we put on Christ, because whoever is baptized in Christ puts on Christ. Thus if we have remained in the manner and instruction of baptism, "stripping" from the body "we will not be found naked," because in the

> inner person lives Christ, as whom we will be seen since we have been clothed—if we are clothed by the Holy Spirit that has been given to us; we will be worthy to be clothed even more by the promised heavenly glory. For in this one the promised radiance will descend, whomever you have seen to have a sign of adoption.

After commenting on Gal 5:1 and the earthly versus heavenly dwellings and mentioning resurrection in that context, Ambrosiaster turns to vv. 2-3 and quotes first the reading "we have been clothed." He explains that the glory of heaven clothes the resurrected so that we will not be found naked when we rise. But then he notes a variant reading: "we have been stripped." Without arguing for one reading over the other, Ambrosiaster explains what this second reading could mean, that if we strip off the body, we will instead be clothed in Christ. Therefore, either reading is valid because each can support the same basic theology. However, his continued use of "induti" and other forms of the verb shows his preference for the lemma (also apparently influenced by "superindui" in vv. 2 and 4, another term that he repeats throughout his discussion of vv. 2-5). Ambrosiaster then passes on to v. 4 without further comment on the variant, although he once more cites "induti," referring to being clothed by the Holy Spirit.

Galatians 2:5

137. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. Gal*. 2:5

1: *omit* D* b; Ir^{lat} Tert MVict Ambst Hier^{ms}

2: nec [οὐδέ] Mcion^{T} (cf. οἷς οὐδέ [majority of witnesses]) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> Graeci e contra dicunt: nec ad horam cessimus, et hoc aiunt convenire causae, quia qui fieri prohibebat, non oportebat {inquiunt} dicere se fecisse, ne probaret esse faciendum. sed apostolus vir divinus sciens posse hoc obponi ipse illud proponit, ut praeveniat calumniosos, et reddit causas quibus compulsus est facere quod nolebat. . . . ad horam cessimus subiectioni, hoc est, ad horam nos subiecimus servituti humiliantes nos legi, ut circumciso Timotheo cessaret

dolus et scandalum Iudaeorum. . . . ad horam ergo cessit, ut veritas evangelii permaneat apud gentes, cum non se subiciunt circumcisioni. apud Iudaeos autem non erat veritas evangelii, quia credentes circumcidebant filios suos; in Christo enim Iesu neque praeputium neque circucisio valet aliquid, sed fides per dilectionem operans. nam non solum historia, sed et litterae hoc indicant quia cessit. nam supra dicit Titum, cum esset Graecus, non esse compulsum circumcidi, et subiecit (subicit) dicens: propter subinductos autem falsos fratres. {quid iam sonat, nisi quia cessit ad horam propter subinductos falsos fratres?} si quo minus, quomodo verba aut sensus se sequerentur? Titum certe negat compulsum circumcidi. propter subinductos autem falsos fratres, quid sonat, nisi quia cessit? si autem propter subinductos falsos fratres {non cessit, non voluntate non cessit. nam cessurum se significavit, si hoc est: sed propter subinductos falsos fratres non cessit. si ergo cedendum non fuit, quare falsi fratres dicuntur, quorum beneficio non fecit, quod faciendum non erat? itaque si hoc est, beneficium praestiterunt apostolo, quia horum causa non cessit, quod cedere habebat. cur igitur exploratores dicti sunt, si hoc illum facere nolebant quod facturus erat, sed propter istos non fecit? si autem non erat facturus, sine dubio propter istos fecit. aliud enim non est.} litterae enim hoc indicant, quia cessit et historia factum exclamat. quomodo enim ad horam negaret se cessisse, cum probetur propter Iudaeos Timotheum circumcidisse, quod est ad horam cessisse, et secundum legem purificatum in templum ascendisse. ille enim posset dicere nec ad horam se cessisse, qui numquam inveniretur cessisse. aut enim cessurus propter falsos fratres non cessit, aut non cessurus, propter falsos fratres cessit [— et si propter falsos fratres non cessit, propter veros habuerat cedere —]. unum ergo e duobus accipite. (CSEL 81.3:20-22 [§§2, 4, 6-8])

The Greeks say the opposite: "*not* for an hour did we yield," and this they affirm to be suitable for a reason, since whoever holds back from doing something, it is not reasonable {they say} to state he has done it himself, nor that he would approve of it being done. But the apostle, the divine man, knowing it is possible this thing will be opposed puts it forth himself, in order to prevent false accusations, and he returns reasons for which he is compelled to do what he did not want to do. . . . "For an hour we yielded in subjection," i.e., for an hour we were subject to servitude, humbling ourselves to the law, so that by the circumcision of Timothy the artifice and stumbling block of the Jews would cease. . . . Therefore, for an hour he yielded "so that the truth of the gospel might remain" with the Gentiles, since they do not submit themselves to circumcision. But with the Jews there was no "truth of the gospel," since believers were circumcising their sons; for "in Jesus Christ neither uncircumcision nor circumcision is effectual at all, but faith working through love" [Gal 5:6]. For not only history, but also the letters indicate this, that he did yield. For above he says Titus, "although he was a Greek," was not compelled to be circumcised, and he subjected (submitted) saying, "but on account of false brothers secretly brought in." {Why would he voice this now, unless because he yielded for an hour on account of the false brothers secretly brought in?} If that is not the case, how would the words or sense be followed? Certainly Titus refuses the compulsion to

> be circumcised. "But on account of false brothers secretly brought in"; why would he voice this, unless because he yielded? But if "on account of false brothers secretly brought in" {he did not yield—not *voluntarily*, he did not yield. For he himself indicated that he will yield, if this is the case: but "on account of the false brothers secretly brought in" he did not yield. Therefore if there was no yielding, why are false brothers mentioned, for whose benefit did not happen this thing that did not happen? And so if this is the case, they gave the benefit to the apostle, since by reason of these he did not yield, what he had to yield. Why then are they said to be investigating, if they did not want him to do what he was going to do, but on account of them he did not do it? But if he was not going to do it, it is without a doubt on account of those that he did it. For there is no other reason.} For the letters indicate this, since he did yield, and history exclaims that it happened. For how "for an hour" would he be refusing to have yielded himself, when he would find it acceptable on account of the Jews to have circumcised Timothy, which is to have yielded "for an hour," and to have gone up into the temple purified according to the law. For it might be possible for someone to say "not for an hour" to have yielded, if that person never would be found to have yielded. For either, intending to yield, on account of the false brothers he did not yield, or intending not to yield, on account of the false brothers he did yield [—and if on account of the false brothers he did not yield, on account of the true ones he had to yield—]. So accept one of the two options.

The commentary on Gal 2:4-5 begins by citing a lemma that lacks the negative ("for an hour he yielded"). Ambrosiaster briefly explains Titus's situation, but then he brings up the example of Timothy: while Galatians says Titus was not circumcised, Timothy was. Ambrosiaster again quotes vv. 4-5 (lacking the negative), saying that this is the explanation for why Paul allowed Timothy to be circumcised (to yield briefly for the sake of the gospel). Then, however, Ambrosiaster adds that the Greeks (or the Greek copies) read just the opposite, and he cites the phrase in question with the negative. He explains why the Greeks find this a plausible reading: stating that Paul did not yield simply affirms that he did not perform the circumcision himself, nor did he give his general approval of circumcision. Ambrosiaster returns to the point he was making before citing the verses again, that Paul felt the need to give an explanation here of why

he would allow something of which he did not approve, in order to silence any objections.

The commentary continues by explaining the various parts of v. 4 and then returns to v. 5 and the meaning of "for an hour we yielded in subjection." Ambrosiaster explains the background, that the Jews were using Timothy (born of a Jewish mother and Greek father) as a test case for the apostolic stance on circumcision, preparing to stir up trouble if they got the wrong response. But Titus's situation, since he was purely Greek, was different. Ambrosiaster discusses at length (with rhetoric worthy of Paul in Rom 7:15-20) the possible meanings of the phrase with or without the negative (whether Paul did or did not yield) to determine based on internal logic which reading is more appropriate. He finds that the very mention of the "false brothers" and the fact that Paul took action "on account of" them, along with the evidence from Acts and the epistles that Timothy was circumcised and that Paul himself was purified before entering the temple, to indicate that Paul did in fact yield for some amount of time and did it because of the Judaizers. Based on this, Ambrosiaster leans toward preferring the reading without the negative, although his conclusion presents the two possibilities for the reader to choose between. After this, he moves on to v. 6.

138. Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* 2:1-2, 3-5

1: quibus neque [οἷς οὐδέ] (see above)

2: *omit*

> Quidam *post quattuordecim annos* eum *Hierosolymam ascendisse* tunc dicunt quando in Actibus Apostolorum de quaestionibus obseruandae uel praetermittendae legis inter credentes Antiochiae orta dissensio est et placuit ire Hierosolymam et sententiam maiorum praestolari, quando ipse quoque Paulus et

Barnabas missi sunt, et hoc esse quod in codicibus legatur latinis: *Quibus ad horam cessimus subiectioni, ut ueritas Euangelii perseueraret apud uos*; quod scilicet propterea Paulus et Barnabas de re manifesta quasi dubia se mitti passi sint Hierosolymam ut maiorum quoque iudicio Euangelii gratia confirmata credentibus probaretur et nulli resideret ultra dubitatio circumcisionis omissae, cum apostolorum esset litteris imperatum iugum legis ab his qui in Christum ex gentibus crediderant auferendum.

. . . QVIBVS NEQVE AD HORAM CESSIMVS SVBIECTIONI, VT VERITAS EVANGELII PERMANEAT APVD VOS. Si *Titus cum esset ex gentibus* nullo potuit terrore compelli ut circumcideretur Hierosolymis, in Iudaeorum metropoli ciuitate, in qua tanta Paulus blasphemiae in Moysen flagrabat inuidia ut postea paene a Iudaeis interfectus sit, quando a tribuno liberatur et Romam uinctus ad Caesarem mittitur, quomodo quidam putant legendum esse *quibus ad horam cessimus subiectioni, ut ueritas Euangelii permaneat apud uos,* et intelligendum quod Titus ipse, qui compelli ante non potuit ad circumcisionem, rursum circumcisus sit atque subiectus? . . .

Itaque aut iuxta graecos codices est legendum *quibus neque ad horam cessimus subiectioni* ut consequenter possit intellegi *ut ueritas Euangelii permaneat apud uos,* aut, si latini exemplaris alicui fides placet, secundum superiorem sensum accipere debemus ut ad horam cessio non circumcidendi Titi, sed eundi Hierosolymam fuerit. Quo scilicet idcirco *subiectioni cesserint* Paulus et Barnabas eundi Hierosolymam, seditione ob legem Antiochiae concitata, ut per epistulam apostolorum sua sententia firmaretur et maneret apud Galatas *Euangelii ueritas*, quae non esset in littera, sed in spiritu, non in carnali sensu, sed in intellegentia spiritali, nec in manifesto Iudaismo, sed in occulto. (CCSL 77A:42-45)

After some “fourteen years” he “went up to Jerusalem,” which they say is when in the Acts of the Apostles dissension was stirred up among believers of Antioch concerning questions of observing or neglecting the law and it seemed appropriate to go to Jerusalem and to wait for the opinion of the elders, when Paul and Barnabas were sent, and this is what is read in the Latin copies: “To whom for an hour we yielded in subjection, so that the truth of the gospel might persevere with you”; because it is certain, therefore, regarding the matter, Paul and Barnabas would experience clear doubts, as it were, about being sent to Jerusalem themselves so that the grace that was confirmed by the believers might be affirmed by the decision of the elders as well as the Gospel and that doubt might no longer remain in anyone about the omission of circumcision, since the command in the letters of the apostles might be a yoke of law to those among the Gentiles who believed that burden was removed in Christ.

. . . *TO WHOM NOT FOR AN HOUR DID WE YIELD IN SUBJECTION, SO THAT THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL MIGHT REMAIN WITH YOU.* If “Titus, since he was from the Gentiles,” was not able to be compelled by fear to be circumcised in Jerusalem, in the major city of the Jewish state, where Paul was tormented by such great ill will regarding blasphemy against Moses that later he was nearly destroyed by the Jews, when he was freed by a tribune and sent fettered to Caesar in Rome, then

> how do some consider to be read “to whom for an hour we yielded in subjection, so that the truth of the gospel might persevere with you,” and interpret that Titus himself, who was not able to be compelled to circumcision before, would in return be circumcised and even subjected? . . .
>
> Thus either along with the Greek copies is to be read, “to whom not for an hour did we yield in subjection,” so that consequently it can be interpreted, “so that the truth of the gospel might remain with you,” or, if there is reasonable faith in any of the Latin copies, according to a higher sense we ought to accept that yielding “for an hour” would not pertain to the circumcision of Titus, but going to Jerusalem. By which it is certain, therefore, Paul and Barnabas “yielded in subjection” by going to Jerusalem, since dissension had been stirred up in Antioch because of the law, so that by the letter of the apostles Antioch’s opinion might be sustained and “the truth of the gospel” might remain with the Galatians, which was not in the letter, but in the spirit; not in a bodily sense, but in the understanding of the spirit; not openly in Judaism, but in secret.

As Jerome discusses Gal 2:1 and the occasion for Paul and Barnabas to make the trip to Jerusalem, he first introduces v. 5 by presenting the version known in the Latin copies. He does not dwell on the variant here, but as he passes on to his commentary on vv. 3-5, he gives a lemma with an alternate reading, with the negative (and the pronoun “quibus”). Using the example of Titus, who in v. 3 is said not to be circumcised, Jerome questions how some can read (with the Latin texts) that Paul did yield, when clearly in the case of Titus he did not. He moves on to discuss the “truth of the gospel” (v. 5) and the issue of circumcision, particularly the case of Titus. Jerome then returns to address the two readings in v. 5 and what is at stake. Here he explicitly notes that the version with the negative is in the Greek MSS; however, he does allow for the possibility of accepting the Latin reading, if the MSS are reliable. He finds the Greek reading to better explain the rest of the verse (that Paul did not compromise himself, specifically for the sake of the gospel), but he also determines that the Latin reading can ultimately have the same meaning if the “yielding” relates not to circumcision but to Paul’s agreement to go

to Jerusalem to deal with the matter. After this, Jerome proceeds with the commentary by returning to v. 4 and discussing the "false brothers."

139. Marius Victorinus, *Comm. Gal.* 2:5

1: *omit* (see above)

2: nec [οὐδέ]

> *Sed propter subinductos falsos fratres, qui subintraverunt auscultare libertatem nostram, quam habemus in Christo, ut nos in servitutem redigerent, ad horam cessimus subiectioni.* Quidam haec sic legunt: *nec ad horam cessimus subiectioni,* et est sensus integer cum superiori, ut neque Graecus Titus conpulsus sit circumcidi, nec tamen nos cessimus vel ad horam subiectioni, id est ut in aliquibus cederemus. Quoniam tamen in plurimis codicibus et Latinis et Graecis ista sententia est: *ad horam cessimus subiectioni,* id est fecimus quae illis facienda videbantur, sed non ut semper sequeremur, multis modis probatur legendum ita esse: *ad horam cessimus subiectioni*, primum quia vere cessit: nam et Timotheum circumcidit *propter Iudaeos*, ut ait in Actibus Apostolorum. Ergo mentiri non debuit apostolus. Deinde *nec ad horam* quis diceret, si negare opus fuerat omnino factum? Et certe, si Petro restitit, quid est hic *nec ad horam cessimus*? Item si supra dictum: *neque Titus qui mecum erat Graecus, conpulsus est circumcidi,* non ergo in omnibus nec semper aut multum; postremo propter subinductos fratres, qui erant miscentes Iudaismum Christianismo, et hinc dictum *propter Iudaeos*. Declaravi certe semper consilium suum, ut aliquando cederet etiam his rebus quae verae sunt. (CSEL 83.2:113-14)
>
> *But on account of stealthily introduced false brothers, who sneaked in to spy on our freedom, which we have in Christ, in order to drive us back into servitude, for an hour we submitted in subjection* (2:4–5). Some read the last phrase as follows: *not even for an hour did we submit in subjection*. The sense fits with the previous verse: that *not even Titus*, a Greek, was *forced to be circumcised*; nor indeed did we submit in subjection, even for an hour—that is, as we were accustomed to submit in some matters. Still, seeing that in quite a few codices, both Latin and Greek, the verse runs *for an hour we submitted in subjection* (meaning that we did things their way although we had no intention of always following that path), one can in many ways prove that it ought to be read thus: *for an hour we submitted in subjection*. First, because Paul really did submit: for in fact he also circumcised Timothy *on account of the Jews*, as it says in the Acts of the Apostles. So the apostle was under no pressure to lie. Second, if there had been any need to deny the deed absolutely, who would say 'not even for an hour'? And surely, if he opposed Peter, what would the meaning here be of 'not even for an hour did we submit'? Likewise, if it was said above that *not even Titus, a Greek who was with*

> *me, was forced to be circumcised*, Paul did not submit in all matters, nor always or even very much. In the end, he did so on account of the stealthily introduced brothers, who were combining Judaism with Christianity. Hence it said *on account of the Jews*. Anyway, I've always made his policy clear: on some occasions Paul submitted, even when it came to matters of the truth. (Cooper)[114]

Marius Victorinus is discussing Paul's gospel and how the Galatians wished to add to it legalistic practices, but Paul came to an agreement with the Jerusalem church about the content of the gospel; thus, they did not force Titus to be circumcised. Victorinus passes then to Gal 2:4-5, reading "for an hour we yielded" (or, "submitted"). Immediately he notes a variant, "we did not yield," and explains the meaning of this in the context, that they did not submit in the matter of Titus's circumcision. However, Victorinus finds the preponderance of the Latin and Greek evidence to lack the negative; he understands this reading to mean that they made temporary concessions. He gives an example where Paul did yield to the Jews, in the matter of Timothy's circumcision, and also argues that the wording best fits the reading that lacks the negative. This also fits Paul's policy of being all things to all people. Having argued in favor of the lemma, Victorinus passes on to discuss the "false brothers" and what they were doing when they snuck in to spy on the apostles (Gal 2:4).

Galatians 3:1

140. Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* 3:1b

1: *omit* ℵ A B D* F G 6. 33*. 81. 630. 1739 *pc* lat sy^{p} co; Hier^{mss} [NA]

2: non credere ueritati [τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι] C D^{2} Ψ 0278. 33^{c}.1881 𝔐 vg^{cl} sy^{h}; Hier^{mss}

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[114] *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (trans. S. A. Cooper; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 270-71.

> Legitur in quibusdam codicibus: *Quis uos fascinauit non credere ueritati?* Sed hoc, quia in exemplaribus Adamantii non habetur, omisimus. (CCSL 77A:68)
>
> It is read in some copies, “Who bewitched you not to believe in the truth?” But this, which the copies of Adamantius [Origen] do not have, we omit.

Jerome first discusses Gal 3:1a, including the phrase, “who has bewitched you?” He then turns to the second half of the verse regarding the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, focusing especially on the notion of Jesus being “publicly displayed” before them. As an afterthought, possibly connected to his reference to the belief of the Galatians, Jerome briefly adds the aside that some copies contain the reading “not to believe in the truth” (cf. 5:7). He states as his only evidence that Origen’s copies lack the variant, which is reason enough for him also to omit it. Without further comment, Jerome passes on to 3:2 and the discussion of Spirit versus works.

Galatians 4:8

141. Ambrose, *Incarn.* 8.82

(See Additional Texts.)

Galatians 5:19-21

142. Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* 5:19-21

1a (v. 19): *omit* ℵ* A B C P 33. 81. 1175. 1241^{s}. 1739*. 1881. 2464 *pc* a vg sy^{p} co; Cl [NA]

2a (v. 19): adulterium [μοιχεία] ℵ^{2} D (F G) Ψ 0122. (0278). 1739^{mg} 𝔐 (b) sy^{h}; (Ir^{lat} Cyp) Ambst

1b (v. 19): *omit* (majority of witnesses)

2b (v. 19): impudicitia[115]

1c (v. 21): *omit* 𝔓^{46} ℵ B 33. 81. 323. 945 *pc* vg^{mss} sa; Mcion^{E} Ir^{lat} Cl Ambst [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2c (v. 21): homicidia [φόνοι] A C D F G Ψ 0122. 0278. 1739. 1881 𝔐 lat sy$^{(p)}$ bo; (Cyp)

> Et putamus nos *regnum Dei consequi* si a *fornicatione*, idololatria et *ueneficiis* immunes simus, ecce *inimicitiae, contentio, ira, rixa, dissensio, ebrietas* quoque et caetera quae parua arbitramur excludunt nos a *regno Dei.* Nec refert uno quis a beatitudine excludatur an pluribus, cum omnia similiter excludant.
>
> In latinis codicibus adulterium quoque et impudicitia et homicidia in hoc catalogo uitiorum scripta referuntur. Sed sciendum non plus quam quindecim *carnis opera* nominata, de quibus et disseruimus. (CCSL 77A:191-92)
>
> And we suppose we "attain the kingdom of God" if we would be free from "fornication," idolatry, and "sorcery," not to mention "enmities, strife, anger, quarreling, dissension, drunkenness," and so forth, which petty things we determine exclude us from the "kingdom of God." He does not mention whether by one or by many of these someone might be excluded from blessedness, since they all would exclude in a like manner.
>
> In Latin copies, adultery, immodesty, and murder are also reported to be written in this catalogue of vices. But it is uncertain whether more than fifteen "works of the flesh" were named, concerning which also we have discussed.

At the end of an extended discussion of Gal 5:19-21 in which he expounds on each vice in order and then closes with a focus on the kingdom of God, Jerome notes only in passing that among the Latin copies three more elements are added to the list. Jerome's lemma includes fifteen items (corresponding to the Greek text [in the critical editions]), and he provides no additional comments of any of the three extra items, but merely points out that his previous discussion has covered the range of meanings for the list. After this mention of the variant, Jerome proceeds with the commentary on vv. 22-23.

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[115] This seems to be strictly a Latin variant, appearing in the list before "luxuria," although either term (or both) could translate ἀσέλγεια.

Ephesians 1:1

143. Basil, *Eun.* 2.19

1: *omit* 𝔓[46] ℵ* B* 6. 1739; (Mcion[T, E] *cf Inscr.*)

2*: ἐν ᾿Εφέσῳ ℵ[2] A B[2] D F G Ψ 0278. 33. 1881 𝔐 latt sy co [NA, UBS, Metzger (in square brackets)]

> ᾿Αλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ᾿Εφεσίοις ἐπιστέλλων ὡς γνησίως ἡνωμένοις τῷ ὄντι δι᾿ ἐπιγνώσεως, ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἰδιαζόντως ὠνόμασεν, εἰπών· «Τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ ᾿Ιησοῦ.» Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παραδεδώκασι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὑρήκαμεν. (SC 305:76)
>
> But also writing a letter to the Ephesians as to those truly united through knowledge to the one who is, he [Paul] names them peculiarly "those who are," saying, "to the saints who are, and are faithful in Christ Jesus." For those who came before us handed it down in this form, and we have found it in the old copies.

In rebutting Eunomius's challenge to the being and nature of the Son, Basil lists Scriptures that talk about those who "are not" (such as 1 Cor 1:28), particularly false gods who do not exist. Basil then turns to a positive example, in Eph 1:1, when Paul addresses those who "are." Basil adds that this reading, which lacks "in Ephesus," has been passed down from the oldest MSS. Without further comment on the variant, Basil is then able to use this reading to emphasize the nature of those who have their being in God: the servants of Christ, those who "are," share the very name of the one who is, the one who exists and causes to exist. And yet, Basil reprimands, if Eunomius denies the one they serve to share this same identity, on what basis can he glorify the Lord? With that, Basil closes this rebuttal of Eunomius' second point to pass on to the third.

144. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.12.3, 13.4 [Marcion]

(See Additional Texts.)

145. Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.17 [Marcion]

(See Additional Texts.)

Ephesians 1:6

146. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 1:6

1: *omit* (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: filio suo [ὑιῷ αὐτοῦ] D* F G 629 it vg^{cl} sy^{h**} sa; Ambst

> Omnis ergo gratia quam consequimur in gloriam, et laudem ejus qui nos justificavit [*Al.* gratificavit] in dilecto, hoc est, in Domino nostro, et Salvatore completur: quia absque sapientia, veritate, justitia, pace, redemptione, caeterisque virtutibus, nullum bonum intelligi potest. Nec putandum quod in Latinis codicibus habetur scriptum esse, *in dilecto filio suo,* sed simpliciter, *in dilecto;* et si quidem esset additum, *dilecto Dei,* vel *dilecto Patris,* esset simplex intelligentia, et omnium opinione vulgata, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus diligeretur a Patre; sed non magnum aliquid proprietati Filii concederemus, cum sic Filius diligeretur, ut caetera. (PL 26:449-50)

> All the grace, therefore, which we obtain to the glory and praise of him who has 'shown grace to us in the Beloved', that is, in our Lord and Saviour, is furnished abundantly because nothing good can be understood without wisdom, truth, justice, peace, redemption, and the other virtues. The phrase, 'in his beloved Son', which has been written in the Latin codices is not to be considered, but simply 'in the Beloved'. If, however, 'Beloved of God' or 'Beloved of the Father' should be added, it would be the simple understanding and, by the common opinion of all, that our Lord Jesus Christ is loved by the Father. We would, however, concede nothing great to the peculiar nature of the Son when the Son is thus loved as other things. (Heine, 90)

Commenting on this verse, after an initial discussion of grace, Jerome turns to the latter half of the verse and the term "Beloved." He notes but immediately dismisses the Latin variant "his beloved Son." However, the theme of sonship, or Christ as the beloved of the Father, remains as Jerome continues his exposition. Jerome dwells on God's love for the Son as well as all his children, so that the Son alone is not the beloved, but also the prophets and saints (citing Wis 11:25). Therefore, Jerome feels that if anything

should be added to the text, it should be a note on the universal nature of God's grace and love.

Ephesians 2:4

147. Origen, *Fr. Eph.* 2:1-5; Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 2:1-5

(See Additional Texts.)

Ephesians 3:14

148. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 3:14

1: *omit* 𝔓[46] ℵ* A B C P 6. 33. 81. 365. 1175. 1739 *pc* vg[ms] co; Or BasA Hier [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: Domini nostri Jesu Christi [τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] ℵ[2] D F G Ψ 0278. 1881 𝔐 lat sy

> Porro quod sequitur, *ad Patrem ex quo omnis paternitas in coelis, et in terra nominatur,* non ut in Latinis codicibus additum est, *ad Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi,* sed simpliciter, *ad Patrem,* legendum, ut Dei Patris nomen, non Domino nostro Jesu Christo, sed omnibus creaturis rationabilibus coaptetur. (PL 26:487-88)

> Furthermore, the addition found in the Latin manuscripts, 'To the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ', is not to be read with the phrase which follows, 'To the Father from whom all paternity in heaven and on earth is named'. Read simply 'to the Father', so that the name of God the Father is joined not to our Lord Jesus Christ but to all rational creatures. (Heine, 157)

In an extensive section on Eph 3:14-15, Jerome first discusses whether bowing the knee must be taken literally or spiritually. He then turns to the latter half of v. 14, pointing out that there is an addition in the Latin copies. Jerome prefers to omit this reading, partly because it adds potential confusion to the text, interrupting the connection

between God the Father and human fathers. Without dwelling on this further, Jerome passes on to discuss the notion of human paternity and how indeed its name was derived from God the Father. Toward the end of the discussion, however, Jerome does repeat the phrase "our Lord Jesus Christ" while pointing out that the Son is a child by nature, while all others are children of God (who thus merit the name of paternity) by adoption.

Ephesians 3:17

149. Photius, catena

(See Additional Texts.)

Ephesians 4:19

150. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 4:19

1: ἀπηλγηκότες (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: desperantes [ἀπηλπικότες] D F G P 1241^{s} *pc* latt sy^{p}

> Quod autem ait, *qui desperantes semetipsos*, id est, ἀπηλγηκότες ἑαυτοὺς, multo aliud in Graeco significat quam in Latino: *desperantes* quippe ἀπηλγηκότες[116] nominantur; ἀπηλγηκότες autem hi sunt, qui postquam peccaverint, non dolent: qui nequaquam sentientes ruinam suam, feruntur in pronum, et tamquam bestiae ferrum videntes, in mortem ruunt. Pone mihi duos in uno vitio deprehensos: alterum qui intelligat, plangatque quod fecit: alterum qui delectetur in scelere, et non solum non doleat, verum etiam glorietur, et putet se quamdam turpitudinum palmam et victoriam consecutum: nonne tibi videtur ille dolere, et hic penitus non dolere? Exprimamus, si possimus, verbum de verbo, et dicamus ἀπηλγηκότες, *indolentes,* sive, *indolorios.* Nam et quidam philosophorum ἀναλγησίαν, id est, *indoloriam* praedicavit. (PL 26:504-5)
>
> Now the phrase 'despairing of themselves', that is ἀπηλγηκότες ἑαυτούς, indicates something quite different in Greek from in Latin. Those who 'despair'

[116] Migne does not include the variant here, only ἀπηλγηκότες; however, see Heine's translation below.

> are indeed called ἀπηλπικότες; but ἀπηλγηκότες are *those[117] who feel no grief after they have sinned and, lacking all perception of their fall, are borne downward and rush to death like beasts although they see the sword. Assume with me two people caught in the same vice. Let one understand and lament what he has done. Let the other take delight in his wickedness and not only feel no grief but even boast and think that he has attained some prize and victory for his disgraceful acts. Does the former not seem to you to suffer grief and the latter to suffer no grief at all? Let us represent it word for word if we can and say that ἀπηλγηκότες are those who are 'insensible to grief' or who are 'calloused',* for a certain philosopher also proclaimed ἀναλγησίαν, that is 'callousness'. (Heine, 183-84)

As Jerome discusses Eph 4:17-19 clause by clause, he pauses to discuss the text and translation of the opening phrase in v. 19. While the lemma discussed by Origen represents the Greek, "those who have become calloused," Jerome notes that the Latin translates a different Greek reading, "those who despair." Although Jerome does not specifically indicate that there is a variant in either the Greek or Latin MSS, he shows awareness that the Latin represents a different Greek term. He elaborates on Origen's discussion to show the distinction between the two terms: someone who is calloused or insensible feels no remorse over his sins, unlike the one who does and thus despairs. Jerome therefore prefers a different Latin translation to represent the original Greek term, implicitly arguing that the Greek ("calloused") is more consistent with the context. He then backs up a clause to discuss the blindness and ignorance of the Gentiles before turning to the remainder of v. 19.

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[117] The portion of text between the asterisks is indicated by Heine as a parallel to Origen's commentary on Ephesians (the asterisks are added here, not original to Heine).

Ephesians 4:29

151. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 4:29

1: opportunitatis [χρείας] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: fidei [πιστέως] D* F G *pc* it vg^{cl}; Tert Cyp Ambst

> Bonus sermo est ad aedificationem opportunitatis, dans gratiam audientibus, qui docet virtutes sequendas, vitia fugienda. Malus, qui ad peccata provocat, et pronos magis incitat ad ruinam. Pro eo autem quod nos posuimus, *ad aedificationem opportunitatis*, hoc est quod dicitur Graece, τῆς χρείας in Latinis codicibus propter euphoniam mutavit interpres, et posuit, *ad aedificationem fidei.* (PL 26:513)
>
> Good speech is for the building up of the occasion, giving grace to the hearers. It teaches that virtues are to be pursued and that vices are to be avoided. Evil speech is that which provokes to sin and incites even more those prone to destruction.[118] But for the sake of euphemism in the Latin codices the translator has altered that which we have rendered 'for the building up of the occasion', that is, what is called χρείας (need) in Greek, and has rendered it 'for the building up of the faith'. (Heine, 198-99)

Jerome opens his commentary on Eph 4:29 by reiterating Origen's explanation that good speech teaches virtue and therefore edifies. Jerome then notes that in Latin translations, "for the edification of the faith" (rather than "occasion" or "need") has been substituted to make better sense of the phrase. However, Jerome prefers the Greek reading and uses that as part of his ensuing discussion, returning to the matter of proper speech, especially at the appropriate time or place.

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[118] Heine indicates that the text to this point is parallel with Origen's commentary on this verse. Heine translates the phrase in question, in both Origen's lemma and commentary, "for building up as there is need."

Ephesians 5:14

152. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Eph.* 18

1: ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: ἐπιψαύσεις τοῦ Χριστοῦ D* b; MVict Ambst Chr[mss]

> Οἱ μὲν, *'Επιψαύσεις,* φασὶ, *τοῦ Χριστοῦ·* οἱ δὲ, *'Επιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός·* μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι. (PG 62:122)
>
> Some read, "You will touch Christ," but others, "Christ will shine upon you"; it is rather the latter reading.

As Chrysostom discusses this epistle verse by verse, he mentions in passing that there is a variant reading for this verse but quickly dismisses it. This preference is further reinforced as he proceeds with his explication by picking up the image of light and quoting John 3:20.

153. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 5:14

1: ἐπιφαύσει (see above)

2: ἐπιψαύσει (cf. above [this variant is not attested in NA or UBS][119])

> Scio me audisse quemdam de hoc loco in Ecclesia disputantem, qui in theatrale miraculum, numquam ante visam formam populo exhibuit, ut placeret, Testimonium hoc, inquiens: ad Adam dicitur in loco Calvariae sepultum, ubi crucifixus est Dominus. Qui Calvariae id—circo appellatus est, quod ibi antiqui hominis esset conditum caput: illo ergo tempore quo crucifixus Dominus, super ejus pendebat sepulcrum, haec prophetia completa est dicens: *Surge, Adam, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis:* et non ut legimus ἐπιφαύσει σοι Χριστὸς, id est, *orietur tibi Christus;* sed ἐπιψαύσει, id est, *continget te Christus.* Quia videlicet tactu sanguinis ipsius, et corporis dependentis, vivificetur atque consurgat: et tunc typum quoque illum veritate compleri, quando Elisaeus mortuus mortuum suscitavit (IV *Reg.* XIII). Haec utrum vera sint, necne, lectoris arbitrio derelinquo.

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[119] However, Metzger does acknowledge this variation: "Instead of 'Christ will shine upon you,' strongly supported by a wide range of witnesses, several Western witnesses substitute either 'Christ will touch you' or 'You will touch Christ'" (*Textual Commentary,* 540). Along with Jerome, both Theodore of Mopsuestia (§154) and Theodoret (§155) testify to the former of the two, "Christ will touch you."

> Certe tunc in populo dicta placuerunt, et quodam plausu ac tripudio sunt excepta. Unum quod scio, loquor, cum loci istius interpretatione atque contextu sensus iste non convenit. (PL 26:526)
>
> I know that I have heard someone preaching about this passage in church. As a theatrical marvel he presented a model never before seen by the people so that it was pleasing. He said of this testimony, that it is said that Adam was buried at Calvary where the Lord was crucified. The place was called Calvary [i.e. skull], therefore, because the head of the ancient man was buried there. At the time when the Lord was crucified, therefore, he was hanging over Adam's grave and this prophecy was fulfilled which says, 'Awake', Adam, 'who are asleep and arise from the dead', and not as we read, ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός, that is, 'Christ will rise like the sun on you', but ἐπιψαύσει, that is, 'Christ will touch you'. That was because, of course, by the touch of his blood and hanging body Adam would be made alive and would arise. That type was also truly fulfilled at the time the dead Elisha awakened the dead (4 Kgs. 4:32-5). Whether these things are true or not I leave to the reader's decision. They were certainly pleasing at the time they were spoken among the people who received them with applause and by stamping their feet. I mention one thing which I know: that understanding does not fit with the interpretation and coherence of this passage. (Heine, 224)

Jerome builds on Origen's commentary, which clearly attests only the reading "Christ will shine." Following Origen, Jerome is concerned with the meaning of sleep and death in the text quoted by Ephesians, but he also explores further the possible source of the quote. Jerome then moves beyond Origen's text to mention a sermon illustration he once heard, describing a curious etymology for "Golgotha" (or Calvary) as the location of Adam's skull. The preacher then explained this passage (which included a variant reading) as a prophecy, calling forth Adam to arise as Christ's blood dripped down to touch him and restore him to life. Jerome leaves it to the reader's discretion whether to accept this interpretation; however, Jerome does advise that the interpretation does not fit with the rest of the passage. He then passes on to the commentary on v. 15.

154. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Comm. Eph.* 5:14

1: inluminabit tibi Christus [ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός] (see above)

2: continget te Christus [ἐπιψαύσει σου ὁ Χριστός] (cf. Jerome above)

> deinde adiecit et testimonium :
> *propter quod dicit: 'surge qui dormis, et exsurge ex mortuis, et inluminabit tibi Christus.'*
> alii *continget te Christus* legerunt[120]; habet autem nullam sequentiam. de lumine enim disputans, abusus est hoc testimonium; dicit autem de peccato et impietate. atubi enim credentes in Christo resipiscere uoluerimus, et quasi de somno et morte quadam expergefacti fuerimus, suscipimus illam cognitionem et gratiam quae exinde ad instar luminis in nos defertur; quibus decens est nos consentanea agere.
> quidam dixerunt quoniam multae erant illo in tempore gratiae Spiritus quae dabantur illis; dabatur etiam cum ceteris gratia ut et psalmos facerent, sicuti et beato David ante Christi aduentum id tribui euenit. unum quidem hoc erat, quod tunc cantantes illi qui gratiam talem acceperant dicebant. quod apostolus in testimonium ad praesens abusus fuisse uidetur. uerumtamen qualitercumque se habet, nos sensum apostoli examinare debemus. (Swete)[121]
>
> Next he has added also a proof text:
> "On account of which it says: 'Arise, you who are sleeping, and rise from the dead, and Christ will shine on you.'"
> Other [copies] read, "Christ will touch you," but it does not fit the context; indeed, when discussing light, this proof text is misapplied. Rather, he is talking about sin and impiety. But when indeed we who believe in Christ might have wished to return to our senses, even as though we were aroused from sleep and a kind of death, we receive that knowledge and grace which are just like the image of light brought to us, and by which it is fitting for us to pursue whatever things are appropriate.
> Some have said whereas the graces of the Spirit given to them at that time were numerous, yet grace was given also to others so that they would make psalms, just as also it happened to be granted to the blessed David before the coming of Christ. Indeed this was the same, because those who said they had received such grace were then singing. In which case the apostle appears to have been misapplying the proof text at hand. Nevertheless, however it may be, we ourselves ought to examine the meaning of the apostle.

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[120] There is a textual problem here among the Latin MSS, which Swete explains as confusion by the scribes (perhaps because of the variant in Ephesians). But Swete concludes, "I have no doubt that Th[eodore] wrote: οἱ δὲ ἐπιψαύσει σου ὁ Χριστός ἀνέγνωσαν" (*Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii* [ed. H. B. Swete; 2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1880, 1882], 1:180 n. 10).

[121] Swete, *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni*, 1:180-81.

In his commentary, Theodore has been discussing the imagery of light and darkness in the preceding verses. He quotes the lemma for 5:14, then notes a variant. However, he finds the variant inappropriate for the context. Theodore then explores the context, continuing the light imagery, and explains how the text quoted by Paul here, reading with the lemma, makes sense in the context of light. Theodore next returns to a theme that emerged in v. 9, with his reading “fruit of the Spirit” (while other MSS have “fruit of the light”), and will arise again in v. 19, which is the gifts of the Spirit and singing spiritual songs. He then repeats what he said earlier, that the proof text is misapplied (or abused). But he returns to exegeting not the meaning of the variant or the text Paul is quoting, but the meaning of Paul himself. Thus, Theodore continues with his commentary, stating that an exhortation is added to the proof text, leading into his citation and discussion of v. 15.

155. Theodoret, *Comm. Eph*. 5:14

1: ἐπιψαύσει σου ὁ Χριστός (cf. Jerome above)

2: ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός (see above)

> « Διὸ λέγει· Ἔγειραι, ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιψαύσει σου ὁ Χριστός. » Ἔνια δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων *ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστὸς* ἔχει, καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ τῶν εἰρημένων πρόσφορον. Ὁ γὰρ τὴν ῥαθυμίαν καθάπερ ὕπνον ἀποτιθέμενος, δέχεται τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ἀκτῖνα. Ἰστέον μέντοι, ὡς οὐ Γραφική ἐστιν αὐτὴ μαρτυρία. Οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ αὐτὴν παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ κειμένην εὑρίσκομεν. Τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν ἔφασαν πνευματικῆς χάριτος ἀξιωθέντας τινὰς ψαλμοὺς συγγράψαι· καὶ τοῦτο αἰνίττεσθαι τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους Ἐπιστολῇ· «Ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν ἔχει. » (PG 82:544-45)
>
> *Hence, it says, Sleeper, awake! Rise from the dead, and Christ will touch you* (v. 14). Some of the manuscripts have “Christ will shine on you,” and this fits in particularly with the sequence of ideas: the person putting aside indifference like

sleep receives the ray of the Lord's light. It should be realized, of course, that this testimony is not scriptural: nowhere do we find it occurring in the divine Scripture. Some commentators, however, claimed that some people in receipt of spiritual grace composed psalms, and that the divine apostle implies as much in the letter to the Corinthians, "Each of you has a psalm."[122] (R. Hill)[123]

After discussing the symbol of light in Eph 5:13 and its ability to reveal what is hidden by darkness, Theodoret turns to v. 14. His lemma reads, "Christ will touch you," but he immediately notes that some copies read instead, "Christ will shine upon you." He recognizes that the latter reading fits better with the theme of light and thus explicates this variant. Passing on from the issue of the variant, Theodoret completes his commentary on this verse by pointing out that text quoted by Ephesians is not found in Scripture but is likely from a Christian hymn. He then proceeds with vv. 15-16.

Ephesians 5:22

156. Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 5:22

1: subditae sint [ὑποτασσέσθωσαν] ℵ A I P (Ψ) 0278. 6. 33. 81. 104. 365. 1175. 1241[s]. 1505. 1739. 1881. 2464 *pc* lat sy co [cf. ὑποτάσσεσθε (D F G) 𝔐 sy]

2: *omit* 𝔓[46] B; Cl Hier[mss] [NA, UBS, Metzger]

Hoc quod in Latinis exemplaribus additum est, *subditae sint,* in Graecis codicibus non habetur: siquidem ad superiora refertur, et subauditur: *Subjecti invicem in timore Christi,* ut ἀπὸ κοινοῦ resonet subjectae, *et mulieres viris suis sicut Domino.* Sed hoc magis in Graeco intelligitur, quam in Latino. Quomodo itaque Christo subjecta est Ecclesia: sic subjecta sit uxor viro suo. Quem enim habet principatum et subjectionem Christus et Ecclesia, huic eidem ordini maritus et uxor astringitur. (PL 26:530)

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[122] Notice that Theodore of Mopsuestia (§154, above) brings up the same theme of spiritual gifts in this context. See Swete (*Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni*, 1:181 n. 1), who discusses Theodoret and mentions other commentators who refer to the same idea.

[123] Hill, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, 2:51.

> The verb 'let them be subject' which has been added in the Latin copies is not contained in the Greek codices since the phrase is referred back to the words above, 'Subjected to one another in the fear of Christ', and the verb is understood so that it expresses ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (in common) the idea, 'and wives subjected to their husbands . . . as to the Lord'. But this is better understood in Greek than in Latin. As, therefore, the Church is subject to Christ so let the wife be subject to her husband. A husband and wife are bound to the same order in respect to pre-eminence and subjection which Christ and the Church have. (Heine, 233)

Jerome begins his commentary on Eph 5:22 by noting that the verb has been added in the Latin and is not present in the Greek copies, where it is implied from the previous verse. He then discusses the meaning of the verb, "be subject," and its further implications for both the husband-wife relationship and Christ's relationship to the church (including the parallel between heresy and adultery). He closes by mentioning that some interpret this anagogically as the relationship between the body (wife) and the soul (husband).

Philippians 3:3

157. Ambrose, *Spir.* 2.5.46

(See Additional Texts.)

158. Augustine, *Trin.* 1.13

1: dei [θεοῦ][124] ℵ* A B C D^2 F G 0278^{vid}. 33. 1739. 1881 𝔐 vg^{mss} sy^{hmg} co; Ambr [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: deo [θεῷ] ℵ^2 D* P Ψ 075. 365. 1175 *pc* lat sy; Chr

> Porro si tali seruitute *creaturae* seruire prohibemur quandoquidem dictum est: *Dominum deum tuum adorabis et illi soli seruies* — unde et apostolus detestatur

[124] While the Latin presented by Augustine varies in both "spiritui" (to "spiritu") and "dei" (to "deo"), the extant Greek variant is only for θεοῦ/θεῷ.

eos qui *coluerunt et seruierunt creaturae quam creatori* —, *non est utique creatura* spiritus sanctus cui ab omnibus sanctis talis seruitus exhibetur dicente apostolo: *Nos enim sumus circumcisio, spiritui dei seruientes*, quod est in graeco λατρεύοντες. Plures enim codices etiam latini sic habent, *qui spiritui dei seruimus*; graeci autem omnes aut paene omnes. In nonnullis autem exemplaribus latinis inuenimus non *spiritui dei seruimus*, sed *spiritu deo seruimus*.

Sed qui in hoc errant et auctoritati grauiori cedere detractant, numquid et illud uarium in codicibus reperiunt: *Nescitis quia corpora uestra templum in uobis est spiritus sancti quem habetis a deo*? (CCSL 50:43-44)

Accordingly if we are forbidden to serve the creature with such service as this, in that it is said *The Lord your God shall you adore, and him only shall you serve*—which is why the apostle abominates those who *have worshipped and served the creature instead of the creator* (Rom 1:25); then the Holy Spirit is certainly not a creature, since all the saints offer him such service, according to the apostle's words, *For we are the circumcision, serving the Spirit of God* (Phil 3:3), which in the Greek is *latreuontes*. Most of the Latin codices have this too: *qui spiritui dei servimus*, we who serve the Spirit of God; the Greek ones all have it, or nearly all. But in some Latin copies, instead of *spiritui dei servimus,* we find *spiritu deo servimus,* we who serve God in the Spirit.

But now, can those who accept this wrong reading and decline to give in to weightier authority, can they find a variant reading in the codices for this text: *Do you not know that your bodies are the temple among you of the Holy Spirit, whom you have from God* (1 Cor 6:19)? (E. Hill)[125]

Augustine is arguing that the Spirit is not a creature but equal to and co-eternal with the Father and the Son. His chief evidence is based on a distinction in the Greek: while we may serve (δουλεύειν) creatures, we are to serve (λατρεύειν) only the Creator (Rom 1:25), just as the Lord God only "shall you serve" (λατρεύσεις; Deut 6:13). Therefore, Phil 3:3 proves that the Spirit is equal to God because we are to serve (λατρεύοντες) the Spirit of God. Augustine then notes a variant: most of the Latin copies, and nearly all of the Greek, read "serve the Spirit of God" (with "Spirit" in the dative, as the object), but some Latin copies read "serve God in the Spirit" or "in spirit" (with "God" in the dative, as the object). By mentioning the variant, Augustine is

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[125] Augustine, *The Trinity* (trans. E. Hill; Works of St. Augustine I/5; Brooklyn, NY: New City, 1991), 73.

conceding that this verse may not prove his point without dispute. However, he goes on to say that the latter is an incorrect reading, and he poses another verse as indisputable evidence, 1 Cor 6:19: if the body of Christ is the temple of the Spirit, then the Spirit cannot be a creature, because we owe temple service (λατρεία) only to one who is equal to God.

Philippians 3:14

159. Pseudo-Oecumenius, catena; or Origen, margin of 1739 [126]

1*: ἄνω κλήσεως (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: ἀνεγκλησίας 1739$^{v.l.}$; Tert Or$^{mss\ sec\ 1739\ mg}$

> Ἀνέγνωμεν δὲ ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις· εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἀνεγκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. καὶ εἴη ἂν ἐκεῖ τῆς λέξεως ὁ νοῦς τοιοῦτος· τὸ βραβεῖόν ἐστι βραβεῖον ἀνεγκλησίας, ὥστε μηδαμῶς ἐγκλήματι τῷ ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐμπίπτειν τὸν καταλαβόντα τὸ διωκόμενον καὶ τυχόντα τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενον τοῦ βραβείου. (Staab, 453)
>
> But we read in some copies: “for the prize of the indemnity of God in Christ Jesus.” And the reading there might have such a meaning: the “prize” is the prize “of indemnity,” so that in no way does one fall upon a charge from God while attaining what is pursued, reaching the goal, and laying hold of the prize.

This scholion attempts to offer an explanation for the variant that uses a rare word, “indemnity” or “without accusation.” In this instance, the commentator understands the term to mean that one may pursue the prize without any accusation or charge from God. There is no further explanation of the variant’s meaning in context, but

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[126] The same scholion given by Staab as Oecumenius appears in the margin of 1739, as noted in the apparatus of NA (although, in the transcription of the marginal notes “by the first scribe” from 1739, Lake et al. do not specify that either Origen’s name or the sign for Origen is given here, as it is in a number of other marginal notes [“Codex 1739,” 213-14]). Günther Zuntz adds in his discussion of this text that “Oecumenius may have taken it from Origen” (*The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum [London: British Academy, 1953], 84 n. 3).

the commentator clearly felt the need to provide a meaning for the reading, without discerning the reading's value.

Colossians 2:15

160. Origen, *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 8.3 [Rufinus]

1: semet ipso [αὐτῷ] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: ligno [τῷ ξύλῳ][127]

> Audi ergo, de his quid ipse pronuntiat: »quod erat« inquit »contrarium nobis, tulit illud de medio, affigens cruci suae, exuens principatus et potestates traduxit libere, triumphans eas in ligno crucis«, licet in aliis exemplaribus habeatur: »triumphans eas in semet ipso«, sed apud Graecos habetur »in ligno«. Ergo duplex ratio Dominicae crucis: una illa, qua dicit Apostolus Petrus quod >Christus crucifixus nobis reliquit exemplum<, et haec secunda, qua >crux< illa trophaeum de diabolo fuit, >in quo et crucifixus est et triumphatus<. (GCS, Or 7:338)
>
> Hear, therefore, what he [Paul] himself pronounces concerning these things. He says, "What was contrary to us, he bore away from the midst, fixing it to his own cross; stripping principalities and authorities, he exposed them openly to public ridicule, triumphing over them on the wood of the cross." Although in other manuscripts it has, "triumphing over them in himself," among the Greeks, it has, "on the wood."[128]
>
> Therefore, there is a double reason for the cross of the Lord: the one, by which the apostle Peter says that Christ crucified leaves behind an example for us [cf. 1 Pet 2:21], and this second one, by which the cross was a token of victory over the Devil, on which he was both crucified and triumphed. (FC 105:87-88)

In this homily, Origen is discussing the destruction of Ai in Joshua 8, particularly the fate of their king in 8:29 (hanged on a double tree). Drawing out the spiritual meaning of the text, and playing off the similarity between the names Joshua and Jesus,

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[127] This variant is not attested in the MSS, but it is common in Origen's quotations and paraphrases of this verse (cf. *Cels.* 1.55; *Hom. Jer.* 9.1; *Comm. Matt.* 10.17; 12.18, 25, 40; *Comm. Jo.* 6.37 [6.285]; 20.29 [20.330]; 32.17 [32.327]; *Fr. Jo.* 89; *Pasch.* [ed. Witte, p. 106]).

[128] A footnote here reads: "Epiphanius confirms this Greek tradition of Christ triumphing in his cross in *Panarion* 73" (87 n. 13). Similarly, after quoting Origen's comment in his apparatus, Tischendorf adds: "In eundem sensum Epiph[694] scripsit: ἐν γὰρ τῷ σταυρῷ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἀρχὰσ καὶ ἐξουσίασ" (2:737). However, Epiphanius may easily have drawn σταυρῷ from v. 14.

Origen explains how the king is to be identified with the devil, and the devil himself is crucified (invisibly, at the time of Jesus's visible crucifixion) as a sign of Christ's victory over him. Origen appeals to Paul for evidence, quoting Col 2:15 as reading "on the wood" (i.e., cross). Since the Latin copies used by Rufinus do not have this reading, the translator must clarify for his audience that the alternate reading is "in himself" (or, "in it"), but the "Greek" (specifically, Origen's own reading) has "on the wood." (Therefore, while the Greek variant goes back to Origen, Rufinus is the one who discusses the variant.) Further explaining how the tree and the cross are "twofold," the commentary continues by pointing out how the cross has a double meaning, as an example for us and as a triumph over the devil. Origen then cites Gal 6:14 as another illustration of Paul discussing the twofold nature of crucifixion. After this, the commentary turns to a spiritual exegesis of the battle at Ai as a battle between the forces of Jesus and the forces of the devil.

Colossians 2:18

161. Augustine, *Ep.* 149.28

1: non [μή] **א**^{2} C D^{1} Ψ 075. 0278. 1881 **𝔐**; Hier^{mss} (cf. οὐκ F G)

2: *omit* **𝔓**^{46} **א*** A B D* I 6. 33. 1739 *pc* b vg^{mss} co; Or Ambst Hier^{mss} Spec [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> Nemo ergo uos, inquit, conuincat, cum sitis corpus Christi, uolens uideri humilis corde in cultura angelorum, quae non uidit inculcans uel, sicut quidam codices habent, quae uidit inculcans. aut enim sic dicere uoluit: Quae non uidit inculcans, quia ista homines suspicionibus et opinionibus agunt, non quod uiderint ita esse facienda, aut certe: Quae uidit inculcans, ideo magna existimans, quia uidit ea quibusdam locis obseruari ab hominibus, quorum auctoritati haberet fidem etiam ratione non reddita, et ideo sibi magnus uidetur, quia ei contigit quorundam sacrorum uidere secreta. sed

> plenior sensus est: Quae non uidit inculcans frustra inflatus mente carnis suae. mirabiliter ibi eum dixit inflatum mente carnis suae, ubi thelohumilem supra dixerat. . . . (CSEL 44:374)
>
> Let no one, he says, who wants to appear humble of heart in the cult of the angels condemn you since you are the body of Christ. He says, *Teaching what he did not see*, or as certain manuscripts have: *Teaching what he saw*. He either said, *Teaching what he did not see*, because people carry out these practices because of suspicions and suppositions, not because they see that they should do them, or he said, *Teaching what he saw*, that is, thinking them important, because he saw that those practices are observed in certain places by men in whose authority he put his trust, even if an argument was not given. And he thinks that he is someone important because he happens to see the secrets of certain sacred rites. But the fuller meaning is the following: *Teaching what he does not see, vainly puffed up in his carnal mind*. He said that he was puffed up in a surprising way in his carnal mind where he said previously "a would-be humble man." (Teske, II/2:374)

In this letter, written in reply to Paulinus of Nola, Augustine answers a number of questions on various scriptural passages. In paragraph 22, he turns to Col 2:21 and then proceeds with a verse by verse exegesis of the entire context of Colossians 2. In paragraph 27, Augustine comes to vv. 17-18 and discusses the person who feigns humility and the worship of angels. In paragraph 18, he opens with the next phrase in Col 2:18 and immediately notes the variant reading. Augustine exegetes both readings, both with and without the negative, finding either to be acceptable in the context. As he restates the verse, he uses the version with the negative, "he did not see." The next portion of the verse, referring to being puffed up, brings Augustine back to the real point of these verses, that this person is practicing false humility but is prideful because of the knowledge of cultic mysteries or the ignorance that such practices are wrong. After this, Augustine quotes vv. 19-20 and then turns to vv. 21-23 in paragraph 29, which ends his discussion of Colossians 2.

162. Jerome, *Ep.* 121.10.5

1: non (see above)

2: *omit*

> nemo ergo uos superet atque deuincat uolens humilitatem litterae sequi et angelorum religionem atque culturam, ut non seruiatis spiritali intellegentiae, sed exemplaribus futurorum, quae nec ipse uidit, qui uos superare desiderat, siue uidet—utrumque enim habetur in Graeco—, praesertim cum tumens ambulet et incedat inflatus mentisque superbiam et gestu corporis praeferat—hoc enim significat ἐμβατεύων—, frustra autem infletur et tumeat sensu carnis suae carnaliter cuncta intellegens et traditionum Iudaicarum deliramenta perquirens et non tenens caput omnium scripturarum illud, de quo dictum est: caput uiri Christus est, caput autem atque principium totius corporis eorumque, qui credunt, et omnis intellegentiae spiritalis. (CSEL 56:43)

> "May no one, therefore, prevail over you" and overcome you, "desiring lowliness" of the letter to follow, "and also worship of" and tending to "the angels," so that you would submit not to spiritual understanding, but to copies of future things, "which he himself has not seen," the one who desires to prevail over you, or if he does see—and each indeed is present in the Greek—especially, he might walk around puffed up and go forth inflated with pride and a lofty heart, and might go on display with the posture of his body—this indeed signifies ἐμβατεύων—but "without cause he might be inflated with pride and puffed up with the sensation of his flesh," understanding all things in a fleshly manner and eagerly seeking the absurdities of the tradition of the Jews, "and not holding fast to that head" of all Scripture, concerning whom it is said: "Christ is the head of the man" [1 Cor 11:3], and the head and origin of the entire body of those who believe and of all spiritual understanding.

In section 10 of this letter addressing questions on Scripture from Algasia, Jerome is expounding on Col 2:18-19. He frequently refers back to the Greek to help explain the meaning in Latin. After discussing the meaning of the verb "to prevail over," or in Greek, "to deprive of a prize," Jerome proceeds with the verses, paraphrasing and elaborating as he goes on. After paraphrasing his lemma (non uidit), "he has not seen," Jerome adds the option "or sees" and parenthetically notes that the Greek contains both readings. However, neither reading is of consequence to Jerome's meaning, as he

quickly passes on and continues to elaborate on the verses, focusing primarily on the image of Christ as the head, and then discussing the veneration of the angels.

Colossians 3:15

163. Pelagius, *Comm. Col.* 3:15

(See Additional Texts.)

2 Thessalonians 2:3

164. Pelagius, *Comm. 2 Thess.* 2:3

(See Additional Texts.)

2 Thessalonians 2:8

165. Athanasius[129]

1: Ἰησοῦς Χριστός[130]

2: *omit* B D² 1739. 1881 𝔐 bo^ms; Ir

> σημείωσαι ὅτι τὸ ῥητὸν οὐ κεῖται νῦν οὕτωσ ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ κύριοσ ἀνελεῖ τῷ πν. τοῦ στόμ. αὐτοῦ. ἔοικε δὲ ὑπό τινων τὸ ις χς ἐκβεβλῆσθαι οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅ τι βουλομένων. τοῦ δ᾽ οὕτωσ ἐξ ἀρχῆσ παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου γεγράφθαι σημεῖόν ἐστιν ἐναργὲσ τά τε ἐνταῦθα παρὰ

[129] Tischendorf lists the source for this citation as "in cod. basil Doxapatres (δοξαπατρὴσ)." The reference is unclear, as even C. R. Gregory (*Prolegomena* [vol. 3 of *Novum Testamentum Graece*; ed. C. Tischendorf; 8th ed. critica maior; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1894], 1183) expresses some uncertainty about the exact source being indicated: "fortasse laudatur a Tischendorfio in apparatu ad 2 Th 2,8 Nilus Doxopatrius archimandrita, incerto ortu, qui aliquando Panormi in Sicilia degebat, qui etiam claruit anno 1073; vel: Iohannes Doxopater Sikeliotes, vide Nicolaium, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte,* vol. 3, Magdeburgi a. 1878, p. 233sq. cf Eman. Miller, [*Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques,* tome XXXI, 2e partie, p. 29-56] *Bibliothèque royale de Madrid* Parisiis."

[130] Metzger (*Textual Commentary*, 568) lists vg^mss for this reading, and Tischendorf adds Irenaeus, Athanasius, and John of Damascus. NA and UBS include only the variant Ἰησοῦς (א A D* F G L^c P Ψ 0278. 33. 81. 104. 365. 1241. 2464. *pc* latt sy co; Ir^lat Or Did), which they put in the text but in square brackets.

τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου πατρὸσ εἰρημένα καὶ τὸ ὁμοίωσ προσενεγκεῖν τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦτο τόν τε θεῖον Χρυσόστομον ἐν τῇ πρ. θεσσ. ἐπιστ. καὶ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον ἐν τῷ α´ λόγῳ τῶν ἀσκητικῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ ῾Ρωμαίοισ οὕτω κεῖται τὸ ῥητὸν ἐν τῷ ὕφει τῆσ θείασ γραφῆσ. (Tischendorf, 2:772)

It indicates that the reading no longer appears this way in the Apostle, but "the Lord will destroy by the breath of his mouth." But it seems that "Jesus Christ" was rejected by some; for what reason they want to I do not know. But on the one hand, what was said here by this holy father and this reading which was likewise added, and on the other hand, the divine Chrysostom on the letter to the Thessalonians as well as Basil in his first book of the *Asceticon*, both are a clear indicator of what was thus written from the beginning by the Apostle. Yet also the reading lies thus next to Romans within the network of divine Scripture.

In this excerpt attributed to Athanasius, external (patristic) evidence is offered for a rare reading. This paragraph appears to be a marginal note or commentary following a text that read "whom the Lord Jesus Christ will destroy by the breath of his mouth" (2 Thess 2:8). The commentator explains that the mark in the text shows that "Jesus Christ" is now lacking in some copies, although he is not sure why these words would be removed. Without a context, the rest of his comments are not entirely clear, but he finds the inclusion of this reading by "this holy father," along with evidence from Chrysostom's commentary and Basil's *Asceticon*, to corroborate the longer reading.[131]

2 Thessalonians 3:14

166. Theophylact, *Comm. 2 Thess.* 3:14

1: ἡμῶν (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: ὑμῶν B 81. 326. 2464 *pc*

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[131] In his commentary on 2 Thessalonians, John Chrysostom cites the verse as "κύριος ᾿Ιησοῦς" (thus, a longer reading, but not as full as this excerpt claims). The verse does not appear to be in Basil's *Asceticon* (although, the *Asceticon* went through multiple revisions, so it could have been in a version known to the author but no longer extant in that form); one possible reference by Basil is in the (dubious) *Commentary on Isaiah* 1.60, which also reads "κύριος ᾿Ιησοῦς."

> Τινὲς μὲν, «Τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν», ἀνέγνωσαν, διὰ τοῦ η. Ὅθεν καὶ οὕτως ἐνόησαν· Εἰ δέ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει τῷ λόγῳ ἐμοῦ τοῦ Παύλου, τῷ διὰ τῆς Ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης οἱονεὶ λαλοῦντι, τοῦτον σημειοῦσθε, καὶ ἔχετε ὡς ἀφωρισμένον. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἰωάννης, «Ὑμῶν,» ἀνέγνω, διὰ τοῦ υ, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν νοεῖν, ὅτι Εἴ τις ἀπειθεῖ ὑμῖν, λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἃ διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς Ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης ἐμάθετε. (PG 124:1356)

> Some read "our word," with an eta. Based on this, they therefore observe: "'But if someone does not obey my word,' i.e. Paul's word, which is speaking as if 'through this epistle, take note of this person' and treat him as an outcast." But the blessed John reads "your," with an upsilon, and explains to us that "'If someone disobeys you,' they speak to him those things 'which you learned through this letter of mine.'"

After his comments on 2 Thess 3:13, Theophylact cites the lemma for v. 14a, which reads "your" (ὑμῶν). He immediately notes that some commentators read in their copies "our" with an eta. He quotes an example of a commentary based on this reading, but then turns to "the blessed John" (likely referring to John Chrysostom, although the source of this quote is unknown[132]), who reads "your" and explains the verse accordingly. Without further comment on the meaning of this part of the verse, Theophylact moves on to v. 14b, asking rhetorically what purpose it serves to treat this person like an outcast (ἀφωρισμένον); the answer, from the verse, is to put the person to shame. He then elaborates on this concept before turning to v. 15.

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[132] I could not locate this quote in Chrysostom, nor, apparently, could Tischendorf (see his apparatus). When Chrysostom quotes this verse (including in his commentary on 2 Thessalonians), it is with ἡμῶν (Tischendorf lists some examples). I also could not find this quote under another author in TLG, although Theophylact could possibly be paraphrasing, making the quote more difficult to locate.

1 Timothy 1:15[133]

167. Jerome, *Ep.* 27.3

1: fidelis [πιστός] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: humanus [ἀνθρώπινος] b m r vg^{ms}; Ambst

> illis placeat: humanus sermo et omni acceptione dignus, nos cum Graecis, id est cum apostolo, qui Graece est locutus, erremus: fidelis sermo et omni acceptione dignus. (CSEL 54:225-26)
>
> They may choose to read, "It is *a human* saying, and worthy of all acceptance"; we are content to err with the Greeks—that is to say, with the apostle himself, who spoke Greek. Our version, therefore, is, it is "a *faithful* saying, and worthy of all acceptance." (NPNF 2.6:44 [modified])

In this short letter to Marcella, Jerome defends himself against charges that he introduced changes into the NT as he revised the Latin against the Greek. He opens with more general (and polemical) comments, then in the third and final paragraph of the letter Jerome lists examples of texts that he has corrected against the Greek. He mentions the textual problem in Rom 12:11 (see §112, above) and follows with further examples from 1 Tim 5:19 and 1:15. For each of these verses, Jerome merely cites what the opponents would read (in their Latin copies), followed by what he would read based on the Greek texts. At the end of this list, he closes the letter with a translation issue in Matt 21:2-5.

1 Timothy 4:3

168. Photius, catena

(See Additional Texts.)

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[133] Metzger adds here 1 Tim 3:1 since there is a similar variant ("St. Jerome's Explicit References," 186). However, Jerome quotes enough of the verse to identify it as 1:15, not 3:1.

1 Timothy 5:19

169. Jerome, *Ep.* 27.3

1: nisi sub duobus aut tribus testibus [ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων]

(majority of witnesses) [NA, Metzger]

2: *omit* b; Ambst Pel

illi aduersus presbyterum accusationem omnino non putent recipiendam, nos legamus: a d u e r s u s   p r e s b y t e r u m   a c c u s a t i o n e m   n e   r e c e p e r i s ,   n i s i   s u b   d u o b u s   a u t   t r i b u s   t e s t i b u s :   p e c c a n t e s   a u t e m   c o r a m   o m n i b u s   a r g u e . . . . (CSEL 54:225-26)

They may see fit to receive an accusation against a presbyter unconditionally; but we will say in the words of Scripture, "Against an elder receive not an accusation, *but before two or three witnesses*. Them that sin rebuke before all" [1 Tim 5:19-20]. (NPNF 2.6:44)

(See comments on 1 Timothy 1:15 [§167, above].)

2 Timothy 4:6

170. Origen, *Hom. Num.* 10.2.1; 24.1.5 [Rufinus]

(See Additional Texts.)

2 Timothy 4:10

171. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 51.11.6

1: Γαλλίαν ℵ C 81. 104. 326 *pc* vg$^{st.ww}$ sa bo^{pt}; Eus Epiph

2: Γαλατίαν (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

ἔφασκον δὲ ὅτι ἰδοὺ τρίτον εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπετράπη τῷ Λουκᾷ, ὄντι καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο τῶν διασκορπισθέντων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ σωτῆρος λόγῳ, διὰ δὲ Παύλου τοῦ ἁγίου πάλιν ἐπανακάμψαντι πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἐπιτραπέντι τε αὐτοῦ κηρῦξαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. καὶ κηρύττει πρῶτον ἐν Δαλματίᾳ καὶ Γαλλίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ. ἀρχὴ δὲ ἐν τῇ Γαλλίᾳ, ὡς καὶ περί τινων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀκολούθων λέγει ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαῖς ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος·

»Κρήσκης, φησίν, ἐν τῇ Γαλλίᾳ«· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ, ὥς τινες πλανηθέντες νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλλίᾳ. (GCS, Epi 2:263)

"Here is a third Gospel, Luke's," they said—(for Luke was given this commission. He too was one of the seventy-two who had been scattered because of the Savior's saying. But he was brought back to the Lord by St. Paul and told to issue his Gospel. And he preached in Dalmatia, Gaul, Italy and Macedonia first, but originally in Gaul, as Paul says of certain of his followers in his epistles, "Crescens is in Gaul." It does not say, "in Galatia," as some wrongly believe, but "in Gaul.") (Williams, 2:36)

Epiphanius has been discussing the infancy narratives and most immediately the genealogies in Matthew and Luke and the designation of Jesus as Son of God and yet a descendant of Adam (Luke 3:23-24). Epiphanius points out that the misguided, those who have wandered away from the truth and believe wrongly, dispute this lineage. In defending Luke, Epiphanius parenthetically comments on Luke's apostolic commission to write his Gospel. As a further aside, Epiphanius notes that 2 Tim 4:19 does not read "in Galatia" as some are led astray to believe, but "in Gaul." With no further comment on this reading, he returns to his discussion of how Luke asserted Christ's true lineage to counter wrong belief, and then Epiphanius brings in further evidence from the Gospel of John and his testimony to the advent of the divine Word.

Titus 3:10

172. Didymus, *Comm. Ps.* 38:10 (39:9 Eng)

1: *omit* 1739 b vg^{ms}; Ir^{lat} Tert Cyp Ambst

2: καὶ δευτέραν[134] 𝔓^{61vid} ℵ A C 0278 𝔐 lat; Ir Or (Ψ 1505. 1881 *pc* sy^{h}) [NA]

[134] Note that Didymus's reading differs in case from the common reading of this text since he has it following ἀπό rather than μετά. However, he appears to be alone in this reading and shows other slight variations in his quotation, so the variant and evidence cited here agree rather with NA^{27}.

> ἐκωφώθην καὶ οὐκ ἤνοιξα τὸ στόμα μου.
>
> τίς ἐστιν ὁ ὀνειδίζων ἄφρων ἢ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς ὁ συνστὰς κατεναντίον αὐτοῦ, ὅσον "ἐκω[φώθ]η καὶ οὐκ ἤνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ"; καὶ ἐνταῦθα πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει· "ἐκωφώθην καὶ οὐκ ἤνοιξα τὸ στό[μα μο]υ". οὐκ ἀπεκρίθην αὐτῷ πρὸς ἃ ὀνειδίζει. ἔλεγον δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὅτι ἄλλῃ δυνάμει ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦτο διδάσκει λέγων· "αἱρεθικὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ μιᾶς νουθεσίας παραιτοῦ". μὴ ἄνοιγε αὐτῷ ὅλως τὸ στόμα. ὅπως δὲ ἂν ἀπολογητ<ικ>ὸν ἔχῃς καὶ σοὶ λόγον περὶ σεαυτοῦ εἰπεῖν ὅτι· "τὸ παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ πεποίηκα", νουθέτησον αὐτόν. ἐὰν τῆς νουθεσίας μὴ ἀνάσχηται ἢ "καὶ δευτέρας"––ἔνια γὰρ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔχει "καὶ δευτέρας"––, ἀνάτραπε αὐτὸν "εἰδὼς ὅτι ἁμαρτάνει". τὸν "αὐτοκατάκριτον" οὐ δεῖ νουθετεῖν. (Gronewald)[135]

> "I was silent and did not open my mouth."
>
> Who is the reproaching fool or that sinner who has contrived against him, so far as "he was silent and did not open his mouth"? And there again it indicates the same: "I was silent and did not open my mouth." I did not answer him for that which he reproached. But often I have said this, that in another capacity the Apostle teaches this, saying: "Avoid a divisive person after one warning." Do not open your mouth to him at all. But so that you might have a defense and say a word on your own behalf, that "this is what I myself have done," warn him. If he does not cease after a warning or "even a second"—for some of the copies have "and a second"—, turn away from him "knowing that he sins." The "self-condemned" it is not necessary to warn.

After discussing reproach by fools in Ps 38:19b (39:8b Eng), Didymus begins his commentary on v. 10a (v. 9a Eng) by inquiring about this fool from whose reproach the psalmist pleas to be spared. Didymus explains that v. 10 is referring to not dignifying the reproach with a response. He turns to an example from Paul in Titus 3:10 of a similar teaching, when it is appropriate to remain silent (not to answer a divisive person who has been admonished once, or even twice, as some MSS read), although people should also be allowed to speak out in their own defense. Didymus then returns to the psalm and proceeds with his commentary on vv. 10b-11.

[135] *Didymos der Blinde: Psalmenkommentare (Tura-Papyrus)*, vol. 4 (ed. M. Gronewald; Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 6; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1969), 240.

Titus 3:15

173. Jerome, *Comm. Tit.* 3:15c

1: *omit* 𝔓^{61vid} ℵ A C H Ψ 048. 1739. 1881 𝔐 vg^{mss} sy co [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: Domini nostri [κυρίου ἡμῶν] (cf. κυρίου D b vg^{mss})

> 3,15c GRATIA DOMINI NOSTRI CVM OMNIBVS VOBIS. Sciendum quod in Graecis codicibus ita scriptum est: *Gratia cum omnibus uobis,* ut nec *Domini,* nec *nostri* in libris feratur authenticis. (CCSL 77C:73)
>
> "The grace of our Lord be with you all." It should be known that in Greek copies it is written thus: "Grace be with you all," so that neither "of the Lord," nor "our" is present in the authentic texts.

At the end of Titus, Jerome deals with the closing benediction separately from the rest of the verse and cites as his lemma the fuller version, "the grace of our Lord." Immediately after this, he qualifies that the Greek version is shorter, so that "our Lord" does not appear in the most authentic texts. Jerome does not dwell on this point but turns to addressing the overall meaning of the benediction, comparing this to the patriarchs blessing their sons, or a blessing over a house. In the same way, Paul is speaking a blessing of grace over the believers.

Hebrews 2:9[136]

174. Diodore of Tarsus, *Comm. Ps.* 8:6b-7

1: χωρίς 0243. 1739* vg^{ms}; Or^{mss} Ambr Hier^{mss} Fulg

2: χάριτι (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

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[136] S. P. Brock also notes a comment among the Syriac writers, by Philoxenus of Mabbug (d. 523), discussing inappropriate translation in the Peshitta NT (particularly Nestorian readings): "The same applies to the passage in the Letter to the Hebrews: 'Jesus the Son by the grace of God'—that is, of the Father—'tasted death on behalf of everyone' (Heb. 2:9, Greek). This they altered and wrote 'apart from God', taking care to transmit that this Jesus, who accepted death on behalf of us, is not God" (Philoxenus, *Commentary on the Prologue of John*; for translation and discussion, see Brock, "Hebrews 2:9B in Syriac Tradition," *NovT* 27 [1983]: 236-44, quotation p. 237).

> ᾿Εναργέστερον δὲ ὁ ᾿Απόστολος, ὡς πιστοῖς διαλεγόμενος, ἑρμηνεύει τὸ χωρίον ἅπαν, οὐκ εἰς ἄλλον εἰρῆσθαι τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λέγων ἢ εἰς τὸν κύριον αὐτόν, τὸν γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον· εἰς γὰρ τὰ ῥητὰ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ἐπάγει· *Τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἠλαττωμένον βλέπομεν ᾿Ιησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον* – εὔδηλον οὖν ὅτι τῇ τοῦ παντὸς δεσποτείᾳ λέγει καὶ τῇ ἀθανασίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀτρεπτότητι – *ὅπως χωρὶς θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου* ἤ, ὡς ἔνια τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἔχει, *ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου·* λυμαίνεται γὰρ τῇ ἐννοίᾳ τοῦ σημαινομένου οὐδέν. Εἴτε γὰρ *χάριτι θεοῦ* ἡ σὰρξ ἐγεύσατο θανάτου, δῆλον ὅτι *χωρὶς θεοῦ* ἐγεύσατο θανάτου· καὶ εἰ *χωρὶς θεοῦ* ἐγεύσατο θανάτου, πρόδηλον ὅτι *χάριτι θεοῦ* ἐγεύσατο θανάτου. ῞Ομως ἀρκτέον τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἵνα μὴ τὸ μέτρον ἀδικήσωμεν. (CCSG 6:48-49)
>
> Now, the apostle, as though addressing the faithful, comments more distinctly on the whole passage, claiming that this psalm refers to no one else than the Lord himself made man. He continues by referring to the verses of the psalm, "We see Jesus as the one made a little lower than angels by suffering death crowned with glory and honor" (clearly referring to his lordship of all, his immortality and immutability) "so that apart from God he might taste death for everyone," or, as some texts of the apostle have it, "so that by the grace of God he might taste death for everyone." Nothing in the text, in fact, impairs the meaning: if "by the grace of God" the flesh tasted death, it was clearly apart from God that it tasted death; and if "apart from God" it tasted death, obviously it was by the grace of God that it tasted death. Nevertheless, we must be governed by a translation that does no violence to the verse. (R. Hill)[137]

In his commentary on Psalm 8, at vv. 5-7 Diodore refers to Hebrews 2, where these verses are quoted. He determines that being made a little lower than the angels refers to death, but by tasting death, Christ received greater glory than the angels and became Lord over the dead themselves. Further, Diodore argues that the author of Hebrews (identified here as Paul) made it clear that the reference in the psalm to one made a little lower than the angels applies not merely to anyone but to Christ himself. As Diodore continues to lay out the argument from Hebrews, he cites "apart from God" as his base text, but he is aware that some copies of the apostle's work have "by the grace of

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[137] *Diodore of Tarsus: Commentary on Psalms 1-51* (trans. R. C. Hill; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 28-29.

God." He finds neither reading to change the meaning of the text, since one can only taste death by the grace of God, and tasting death sets us apart from God. Since there is no theological difference between the meanings, Diodore determines that it is best to prefer the reading that best befits the context. He then passes on from Hebrews to return to the psalm and discuss v. 6 as the logic flows into v. 7 (following a mention of submitting all things with a description of the lower creatures, the animals, who are submitted). After this, Diodore concludes and turns to Psalm 9.

175. Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* 3:10

1: gratia Dei [χάριτι θεοῦ] (see above)

2: absque Deo [χωρίς θεοῦ]

> Nec hoc ex meo sensu dictum putetis: Scriptura testis est quia Christus gratia Dei siue, ut in quibusdam exemplaribus legitur, absque Deo *pro omnibus mortuus est*; si autem pro omnibus, et pro Moyse et pro uniuersis prophetis, e quibus nullus potuit delere chirographum uetus quod aduersum nos scriptum erat et adfigere illud cruci. . . . (CCSL 77A:85)
>
> You should not esteem this statement based on my interpretation; Scripture stands as a witness because Christ, "by the grace of God (or, as in some copies it is read, without God) died on behalf of everyone"; if, however, "on behalf of everyone," also on behalf of Moses and all of the prophets, from whom not one of the ancients was able to expunge what was written out by hand against us and to affix that to a cross. . . .

In his commentary on Gal 3:10, Jerome first examines the quotation from Deut 27:26 and the evidence of the different versions (especially the inclusion or absence of "all/everyone"). He then turns to Rom 8:3 and the question of what this means for the patriarchs and the prophets, if they too were under the curse of the law. Jerome cites Gal 3:13, that Christ redeemed us from the curse by becoming the curse for us, and determines that his blood also covered the patriarchs and prophets. To support this

reading, Jerome cites a mixture of Heb 2:9 and 2 Cor 5:15, both of which say that Christ died/tasted death "for everyone." He acknowledges in passing the variant at Heb 2:9, but this is beside his point so he does not dwell on it. Instead, Jerome asserts that "everyone" here includes Moses and the prophets, since everyone has sinned (Rom 3:23; Eccl 7:20 [7:21 Latin]) and the law alone cannot justify us before God—just as Paul says below in Gal 3:11. Jerome therefore continues the commentary with vv. 11-12 and moves on to a discussion of righteousness and faith.

176. Pseudo-Oecumenius, catena

1: χάριτι (see above)

2: χωρίς

> Ἰστέον ὅτι οἱ Νεστοριανοὶ παραπταίουσι τῇ γραφῇ καὶ οὕτως ἀναγινώσκουσιν· ὅπως χωρὶς θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου, τοῦτο κατασκευάζοντες ὅτι οὕτως ἐνοίκησιν ἔσχεν ὁ Χριστός, φασί, τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐχ ἕνωσιν, ὅτι σταυρουμένῳ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἦν ἡ θεότης· εἴρηται γάρ, φασί, χωρὶς θεοῦ γεύσηται θανάτου. ἀλλ' ὅρα πῶς ὀρθόδοξός τις ἀπεκρίθη· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ χάριτι θεοῦ κεῖται. πλὴν εἰ καὶ καθ' ὑμᾶς χωρὶς θεοῦ εἴρηκεν, οὕτως δεκτέον αὐτό, ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέθανεν ὁ Χριστός, καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα λύσῃ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ καὶ ἑνώσῃ τὰ κάτω τοῖς ἄνω.[138] τούτῳ ὅμοιον τὸ ἀλλαχοῦ εἰρημένον· ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ ὅτι πάντα ὑποτέτακται, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα. (Staab, 462)
>
> Note that the Nestorians stumble against the Scripture and so they read "so that without God he tasted death for all," constructing the argument that Christ had an indwelling of the Word of God but not union with it, because he did not have his divinity when he was crucified. For they say that it is written "without God he tasted death." But see how a certain orthodox man answered.[139] First, the text

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[138] This clause (ἵνα λύσῃ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ καὶ ἑνώσῃ τὰ κάτω τοῖς ἄνω) appears in John Chrysostom's *Prod. Jud*. 6 (PG 49:390), but in a different context.

[139] It is unclear here and in the similar comment attributed to Theophylact (§180, below) whether the orthodox reply is alluding to a specific person or just a general orthodox response. Here, some of the wording is verbatim with Origen, and the argument is definitely Origen's (that Christ died for the heavenly

> reads “by the grace of God.” Moreover, even if we understand it to read “apart from [without] God,” it ought to be understood in the sense that Christ died for all the other beings except for God, for he died not only for humanity but also for the powers above, that “he might break down the dividing wall” [Eph 2:14] and unite the lower beings with the higher ones. Similar to this is that statement which is said elsewhere, “But when it says, ‘All things are put in subjection under him,’ it is plain that the One is excepted who put all things under him” [1 Cor 15:27]. (ACCS 10:38)

> Οἱ δὲ Νεστοριανοὶ τὴν γραφὴν περιξέοντες, ἀντὶ τοῦ “χάριτι Θεοῦ” “χωρὶς Θεοῦ” ἀναγινώσκουσιν. οὕτως αὐτὸ δεξόμεθα, ὅτι χωρὶς Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, ἵνα λύσῃ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, καὶ ἑνώσῃ τὰ κάτω τοῖς ἄνω. (Cramer, 7:395)

> But the Nestorians amend the text; instead of “by the grace of God” they read “apart from God.” Let us receive it in this way, that apart from God on behalf of all Christ died, not only on behalf of humans, but also on behalf of the powers above, so that he might break the dividing wall [Eph 2:14] and unite the things below with those above.

In this scholion, it is presented that the Nestorians use the variant reading, “apart from God,” to argue that Jesus, when he tasted death, was “apart from God” and therefore was not united with the divinity of God when he was crucified. In contrast, an orthodox reply is cited. First of all, it is argued, the real reading is “by the grace of God.” But even if the variant reading is accepted, one need not accept the Nestorian interpretation. Instead, it means that Christ died for all “except for God,” so that he died for both humans and heavenly beings in order to fulfill Eph 2:14 and break the dividing wall between heaven and earth. As further testimony, 1 Cor 15:27 (cf. Heb 2:8) says that everything is subjected to Christ except the one who did the subjecting—i.e., everyone but God (compare Theophylact on Heb 2:9 [§180, below]).

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beings, not just humans). However, since Nestorianism was much later than Origen, this could not be Origen’s direct reply to it. Rather, this seems to be a direct response to Nestorianism that builds upon the interpretation offered by Origen. The question that remains is who is being referring to as “the orthodox one,” since that would be an interesting title to apply to Origen after the 4th century (the epithet may imply that this apologist, even though he relied on Origen’s interpretation, was still orthodox in other respects).

177. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.35(40) [1.255-256]

1: χωρίς (see above)

2: χάριτι

> »χωρὶς γὰρ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο θανάτου«, ὅπερ ἔν τισι κεῖται τῆς πρὸς ῾Εβραίους ἀντιγράφοις »χάριτι θεοῦ«. εἴτε δὲ »χωρὶς θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο θανάτου«, οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν λοιπῶν λογικῶν· εἴτε »χάριτι θεοῦ ἐγεύσατο τοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς θανάτου«, ὑπὲρ πάντων χωρὶς θεοῦ ἀπέθανε· »χάριτι γὰρ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο θανάτου.« (GCS, Or 4:45)
>
> For "apart from God he tasted death for all." This appears in some copies of the epistle to the Hebrews as "by the grace of God."
>
> But whether "apart from God he tasted death for all," he died not only for humans but also for the rest of the spiritual beings, or "by the grace of God he tasted death for all," he died for all apart from God, for "by the grace of God he tasted death for all." (ACCS 10:39-40)

In a discussion of the relationship between the Father and the Son (in contrast to the Just and Good distinction made by the heretics), Origen alludes to Hebrews 10 and then quotes Heb 2:9 to illustrate that Christ (= the demiurge) died once for all on behalf of all rational creatures. After mentioning the variant, he explains the meaning of both readings, essentially combining them, by placing his emphasis on "everyone": whether by the grace of God or apart from God, Christ tasted death for all. He then moves forward with his point that Christ died even for the stars, citing a text from Job that even the stars are unclean and in need of redemption.

178. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 28.18(14) [28.154]

1: χάριτι (see above)

2: χωρίς

> ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ἀληθεύειν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἐνεργοῦν τὸν Καϊάφαν, λέγω δὲ τῷ φάσκειν· »Συμφέρει ἡμῖν ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ

> τοῦ λαοῦ«, βαθύτερον ἐξακούσεται τοῦ »Συμφέρει ἡμῖν« διὰ τὸν περὶ τέλους λόγον, καὶ συγχρήσεται τῷ »Ὅπως χάριτι (ἢ· χωρὶς) θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου«, καὶ ἐπιστήσει τῷ »Ὑπὲρ παντός« καὶ τῷ »Χωρὶς θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντός«. (GCS, Or 4:412)

> But the one who wishes that which inspires Caiaphas to be speaking the truth even in this—I mean when he declares, "It is expedient for us that one man should die for the people"—will understand the words, "it is expedient for us," in a deeper sense because of the statement about the goal. He will make use of the words, "that by the grace of God (or, apart from God) he might taste death for all," and he will give attention to the words, "for all," and to the words, "apart from God for all." (FC 89:324 [modified])

Origen has been addressing the role of Caiaphas in Jesus's crucifixion and by what power (good or evil) Caiaphas prophesied about Jesus's death (John 11:49-53). Origen considers certain OT examples of prophecy, such as Balaam and Saul's messengers. He then returns to Caiaphas to consider his words "it is expedient for us" and whether that means that the death of Jesus was efficacious even for "us." As Origen weighs two sides of the argument, he states that the person who wishes to understand Caiaphas as prophesying by the Holy Spirit will cite Heb 2:9 as evidence that Jesus died for "all." Origen notes the variant reading briefly in passing, reading the verse first as "by the grace of God" and adding parenthetically, "or, apart from God." When he restates the pertinent part of the verse, he opts for the latter reading because in this context it may be used to argue that Jesus died for everyone except for God (which would include Caiaphas and "us"). Origen does not dwell on the point but quickly passes on to note other proof texts for this argument (1 Tim 4:10; John 1:29). Origen continues on with other evidence for and against Caiaphas, choosing ultimately to leave the verdict up to the audience but pointing out what is at stake here, which is the role of the Holy Spirit in leading Jesus to his death.

179. Theodore of Mopsuestia, catena

1: χωρίς (see above)

2: χάριτι

Γελοιότατον δή τι πάσχουσιν ἐνταῦθα τὸ χωρὶς θεοῦ ἐναλλάττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες χάριτι θεοῦ, οὐ προσέχοντες τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ τῆς γραφῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ συνιέναι ὅτι ποτὲ ἔφη τὸ χωρὶς θεοῦ, ἀδιαφόρως ἐξαλείφοντες μὲν ἐκεῖνο, τιθέντες δὲ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς εὔκολον εἶναι πρὸς κατανόησιν. τί γὰρ ἐνταῦθα προέκειτο τῷ Παύλῳ, ἵνα ἐπαγάγῃ τὸ χάριτι θεοῦ; τίς δὲ αὐτὸν ἦγεν πρὸς τοῦτο ἀκολουθία; οὐ γὰρ ἔθος αὐτῷ χάριτι θεοῦ τιθέναι ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἀπό τινος ἀκολουθίας λόγου. . . . ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ προκείμενον αὐτῷ δηλονότι περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διαλέγεται, οἷοστις ἐστιν καὶ τίνα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἔχων διαφοράν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἐξηνέχθη εἰς τὸ εἰπεῖν, κατὰ τί δὲ αὐτῶν ἠλαττῶσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ ὅτι διὰ τὸν θάνατον. τί οὖν ἔδει ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χάριτι θεοῦ; οὐ γὰρ πρόκειται αὐτῷ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγαθότητα λέγειν αὐτοῦ.

Τοῦτο δὲ μᾶλλον δείκνυσιν ἡ τῶν ἑξῆς ἀκολουθία· εἰπὼν γὰρ ὅτι χωρὶς θεοῦ ἐγεύσατο τοῦ θανάτου, οὐδὲν πρὸς τοῦτο παραβλαβείσης τῆς θεότητος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως τὴν κατὰ βραχὺ τοῦτο ἐλάττωσιν ἐδέξατο, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς τιμῆς μετέχοντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἕτερον συνάφειαν. ἐπειδήπερ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τοὺς ταῦτα ἀκούοντας περιττὴν ἐν τῷ τοῦ πάθους καιρῷ νομίζειν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὴν ἐνοίκησιν, οὐδὲν τοῖς προκειμένοις συμβαλλομένην εἴπερ δὴ χωρὶς ἐκείνου τῆς πείρας ἐγεύσατο τοῦ θανάτου, ἐπάγει· ἔπρεπε γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι᾽ ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι᾽ οὗ τὰ πάντα, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι. οὐκ ἀσυντελὴς δὲ ἦν οὐδὲ ἡ θεότης, φησίν· ἔπρεπε γὰρ τὰ οἰκεῖα· . . . τὸ γάρ τοι τοῦ πάθους οὐδαμῶς αὐτῇ πρέπον ἦν. τοῦτο τὸ ἔπρεπε σαφῶς τὸ χωρὶς θεοῦ συνέστησεν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνου οὐ πρέποντος τὸ πρέπον αὐτός φησιν, δεικνὺς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἅπερ ἔπραττε τότε, τίνα δὲ ταῦτα ἦν. ἔπρεπε γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι᾽ ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι᾽ οὗ τὰ πάντα· δηλονότι τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ λέγων, ἐπειδήπερ πολλοῖς τῆς υἱότητος μετέδωκεν καὶ εἰς τὴν δόξαν ἤγαγεν ταύτην, τὸν τῆς ἁπάντων σωτηρίας ἀρχηγόν, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν, τὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον διὰ τῶν παθημάτων τέλειον ἀποφῆναι, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι καὶ τούτου τὴν φύσιν κἀκείνου τὴν χάριν. (Staab, 204-5)

Some suffer something very laughable here, changing "without God" and making it to read "by the grace of God," not following the Scripture's train of thought. Owing to their failure to understand that he once said, "without God," they erase it to no profit and put in what seems satisfactory to their opinion. Yet what notion would be suggested by Paul inserting "by the grace of God"? And what train of thought would lead him to this? For it is not his custom to append "by the grace of God" capriciously, but always there is some logical train of thought involved. . . . But in Hebrews Paul is discussing what is being set forth by him concerning

> Christ, what sort of person he is and how he differs from the angels (the starting point of his discussion), and in what respect he seems to be lower than them because of his death. What need was there then for him to say, "by the grace of God"? It is out of place for him to speak concerning his goodness concerning us.
>
> Instead, the line of argument shows this to be the case when he says, "without God he tasted death," since his divinity was not hindered in this respect, and therefore he showed a diminution "for a short time" from his usual state. He appears also here to share the honor because of his connection with the other nature. It is most natural that those who have heard these things would think that the indwelling of the Word of God would be spectacular at the time of his suffering, even though this does not correspond with the things that have been set forth. Yet "without" God he tasted the trial of death, he adds, "For it was fitting for him, on whose account all things exist and through whom all things exist, having led many sons into glory while he was the originator of their salvation to be made perfect through suffering." It is not that his divinity was not a contributor, he says. For the usual things "were fitting." . . . For, let me tell you, the fact of suffering in no way was appropriate for it. But clearly this "it was fitting" confirms the notion of "without God." For although it was not fitting, Paul himself says that it is fitting, showing at the same time also what sort of things he once did, and what they were. "For it was fitting for him, because of whom and through whom all things exist." Quite clearly he is speaking about the divine Word, inasmuch as he shared with many his sonship and led them into this glory. He is the "originator" of everybody's "salvation," our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, the one who is said flatly to have been accepted as a perfect man through his sufferings, so that also Christ's nature and God's grace might be made manifest. (ACCS 10:38-39)

In this lengthy scholion, Theodore quite clearly prefers the reading χωρὶς θεοῦ, finding the variant χάριτι θεοῦ absurd based on the context. Assuming, as many did at the time, that Paul wrote Hebrews, Theodore examines Paul's use of the phrase "the grace of God," citing examples from 1 Cor 15:10 and Eph 2:8-9. Theodore then proceeds to explain the purpose of the Hebrews passage, how Paul would not bring up the grace of God in this context, and how Theodore's preferred reading fits more appropriately. He

particularly addresses issues of suffering and divinity within the larger context of Heb 2:9-10, terms that would later be especially significant in light of Nestorian debates.[140]

180. Theophylact, *Comm. Heb.* 2:9

1: χάριτι (see above)

2: χωρίς

> *Ὅπως χάριτι Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου.* Οὐ γὰρ ὀφείλων ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλὰ χάριτι τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν εἰς θάνατον, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν δὲ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης. . . .[141] Οἱ δὲ Νεστοριανοὶ παραποιοῦντες τὴν Γραφήν φασι· Χωρὶς Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται, ἵνα συστήσωσιν, ὅτι ἐσταυρωμένῳ τῷ Χριστῷ οὐ συνῆν ἡ θεότης, ἅτε μὴ καθ' ὑπόστασιν αὐτῷ ἡμωμένη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχέσιν. Πρὸς οὓς ὀρθόδοξός τις χλευάζων τὴν ἀνοησίαν αὐτῶν εἶπεν, ὅτι Ἐχέτω, ὥς φατε, ἡ Γραφὴ, καὶ οὕτως οὖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον. Χωρὶς γὰρ θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἄλλου ἀπέθανεν ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτῶν, ἵνα λύσῃ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχθραν αὐτῶν, καὶ χαρὰν αὐτοῖς περιποιήσηται. (PG 125:209)
>
> "So that by the grace of God he might taste death on behalf of all." For God did not owe it to us, but by grace he handed his Son over to death, not only on behalf of believers, but on behalf of the entire world. . . . But the Nestorians, falsifying the Scripture, say, "apart from God, he might taste [death] on behalf of all," in order that they might contrive that the deity did not coexist in Christ who was crucified inasmuch as the deity was not unified with him in terms of person (*hypostasis*) but in terms of relationship (*schesis*). Someone who is orthodox, mocking their ignorance, said to them, let the text read as you say; in this case, then, it is on behalf of us that is speaking. For "apart from God, on behalf of every other" the Lord died, even on behalf of the angels, in order to destroy their hostility against us (cf. Eph 2:14), and gain joy with them.

This portion of Theophylact's comments on Heb 2:9 juxtaposes John Chrysostom's homily on Hebrews and another source (see Pseudo-Oecumenius on Heb

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[140] Brock notes, "Theodore's quotation of Heb. 2:9 in his Catechetical Homilies was one of the passages singled out at Actio IV of the Fifth Council" (where he was denounced as a proto-Nestorian) ("Hebrews 2:9B," 238 n. 7).

[141] The text to this point is a paraphrase of John Chrysostom, *Hom. Heb.* 4.3 (see PG 63:39-40; NPNF 1.14:383-84). The rest of the paragraph follows the text cited above for Pseudo-Oecumenius (§176). However, the phrase there that is found also in Chrysostom (see n. 138, above) is lacking here from Theophylact's version.

2:9 [§176, above]). Like Chrysostom, Theophylact quotes "by the grace of God" as his lemma and explains that the death of Christ was not something God owed us but was entirely by his grace. Even more, it was not only on behalf of those who believe, but on behalf of the entire world that Christ died, even if all choose not to believe. The commentary then turns to a discussion of "tasting" death: Jesus, like a physician, took the first taste of the medicine, even though he had no need of it, to set an example for the sick to take the medicine with courage. Theophylact then turns from Chrysostom's homily to append comments about the Nestorians and their use of the variant reading, "apart from God," explaining what the variant would mean if it were accepted (that the Lord died even for the angels). After this, Theophylact moves on with his commentary on v. 10.

Hebrews 9:17

181. Isidore, *Ep.* 1576

1: μήποτε (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: μὴ τότε א* D*

> Ἐπειδὴ γέγραφας, νομίζων εἰς τοὐναντίον οὗ προῄρητο εἰπεῖν περιτετράφθαι τὸν Παῦλον· Τί ἐστι «Διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος»; ἀντεπιστέλλω ὅτι τὸ *μήποτε μὴ τότε* ἐστίν, μιᾶς κεραίας ἑνὶ στοιχείῳ ὑπό τινων ἴσως ἀμαθῶν προστεθείσης· οὕτω γὰρ εὗρον καὶ ἐν παλαιοῖς ἀντιγράφοις—οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ θείῳ πνεύματι κοσμηθεὶς καὶ Ἑρμῆς εἶναι νομισθεὶς εἰς τοὐναντίον περιετράπη· «Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μὴ τότε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος, μετὰ θάνατον βεβαιοῦται.» Εἰ δὲ *μή ποτε* κέοιτο, οὐκ εἰς τὸ *μή* τὸν τόνον ἀναπεμπτέον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ *πότε*, ἵνα ᾖ *μηδαμῶς*. (SC 454:282)
>
> Since you have written that you think Paul has turned around to the opposite of what he intended to say, and you asked what this means: "For a will is put into effect with respect to the dead, since it is never in force while the one who made the will is living," I write in reply that the "never" is actually "not at the time"; for, a single stroke was added to one letter by some who were perhaps ignorant. And I found this reading even in the old copies—for the one who was assigned by

the divine spirit and who was considered to be Hermes [i.e., God's messenger] would not have turned around into the opposite: "for since the will is not in force at the time when the one who made the will is living, after death it is put into effect." But if the text does read "never," one should not put the stress on the μή, but on the ποτε, so that it means "not at all."

In this short letter, Isidore answers a question about this verse, replying that Paul (assumed to be the author of Hebrews) did not confuse what he wanted to say, and that in fact the text does not read "never" but "not at the time." Isidore bases this reading on the evidence of older MSS and conjectures that ignorant or untrained scribes were responsible for adding the single stroke that turned the tau into a pi. He does allow, however, that the authentic reading may actually be "never," but he adds instructions on how the word(s) should then be read so that the meaning is "not at all."

Hebrews 10:1

182. Theophylact, *Comm. Heb.* 10:1

1: δύνανται ℵ A C D[1] P 0278. 33. 81. 104. 614. 1241. 1505 *pm* a b z* vg[ms] sy

2: δύναται 𝔓[46] D*.[2] H K L[s] 0285. 326. 365. 629. 630. 1739. 1881 *pm* f r vg [NA, UBS, Metzger]

Κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς αὐταῖς θυσίαις, ἃς προσφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς, οὐδέποτε δύνανται τοὺς προσερχομένους τελειῶσαι. Ἡ διάνοια τοῦ χωρίου τοιαύτη ἐστίν· Εἴπερ ἰσχὺν εἶχον αἱ νομικαὶ θυσίαι, οὐκ ἂν διηνεκῶς προσεφέροντο· ἅπαξ γὰρ προσενεχθεῖσαι, καὶ ὠφελήσασαι, ἐπαύσαντο ἄν. Νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν προσεφέροντο εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς, πρόδηλον ὅτι ἠσθένουν τελειῶσαι. . . . Τὸ δὲ *δύνανται*, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἔχουσι μετὰ τοῦ, ν, ἀλλ' ὅμως εὗρον παραγραφὴν χωρὶς τοῦ, ν, τοῦτο γράφειν ἀξιοῦσαν· Σκιὰν γὰρ ἔχων, φησὶν, ὁ νόμος τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, οὐδέποτε *δύναται* τοὺς προσερχομένους τελειῶσαι. Καὶ ἀληθῶς γε, ὅσον κατὰ τὸ τῆς γραμματικῆς ἀκριβείας ἀκόλουθον, οὕτω δεῖ ἔχειν τὴν Γραφήν, ἵνα μὴ σολοικισμὸς ἀνακύψῃ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῇ Γραφῇ τεχνολογιῶν οὐδεὶς λόγος, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ νοήσωμεν ὡς τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἔχουσιν. Οὐδέποτε γὰρ *δύνανται*, οἱ προσφέροντες δηλαδὴ, τελειῶσαι τοὺς προσερχομένους. (PG 125:317, 320)

> "Year after year by the same sacrifices, which they offer continually, they are never able to perfect those who approach." The meaning of the passage is this: if the sacrifices of the law were effective, they would not have been offered continually; for, once for all, they would have ceased to be offered and to be useful. But now since year after year they were offered continually, it is clear that they were too feeble to perfect anyone. . . . Concerning δύνανται, if the copies have the plural (with the nu), but the copyists likewise found alongside the text the singular (without the nu), this they considered worth writing in the text. "For the law," it says, "having a shadow of the good things to come . . . never can perfect those who approach." And certainly, as far as grammatical accuracy is concerned, it is necessary for this to be written in the text, lest incorrect grammar emerge. But since there is no systematizing word in the text, also let us think of it in this way, as the copies have. For "they"—clearly, those bringing the offerings—"never can perfect those who approach."

After discussing Heb 10:1a-b, Theophylact cites v. 1c and begins a lengthy commentary on the sacrifices and their ineffectiveness. At the end of the discussion, he returns to mention the variant reading. The plural form of the verb, cited in his lemma, he considers to be the original reading, while the singular is a marginal note intended to correct the text. The singular, however, he thinks was inserted into the text in subsequent copies in order for the text to be grammatically correct. While his opening statement shows that he reads the text to indicate that the sacrifices offered under the law were unable to perfect anyone (closer to the singular reading, with "law" as the subject), he also considers the plural reading to be valid, therefore saying that those who offered the sacrifices—the priests—were also incapable of perfecting anyone.[142] After this, Theophylact passes on to v. 2.

[142] Tischendorf quotes this passage in his apparatus, and then follows it with the comment, "Contra quam explicationem recte observatum est nusquam ab auctore huius epistulae sacerdotes dici non posse perficere hominem, sed lex atque sacrificia (cf. infra v. 11)" (Against which interpretation it is rightly noted that nowhere is it said by the author of this epistle that priests are unable to perfect a person, only the law and sacrifices [cf. below v. 11]).

2 Peter 1:1

183. Pseudo-Oecumenius, *Comm. 2 Pet.* 1:1

1: Σίμων $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ B Ψ 69. 81. 614. 623. 630. 1241. 1243. 2464 *al* vg co

2: Συμεών (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> «Σίμων.» Γράφεται καὶ Συμεών. Τοῦ γὰρ Συμεὼν, τὸ Σίμων ὑποκοκρισμός ἐστιν, εἰ καὶ τοῦ Μητρόδωρος τὸ Μητρᾶς, καὶ τοῦ Μηνόδωρος τὸ Μηνᾶς, καὶ τοῦ Θεοδόσιος τὸ Θευδᾶς. (PG 119:580)
>
> "Simon." It is also written "Simeon." For Simon is a shorter version of Simeon, just as Metras is for Metrodorus, and Menas is for Menodorus, and Theudas is for Theodosius.

The commentary on 2 Peter here begins with a brief heading to describe the theme of the first chapter, then after a citation of vv. 1-2 opens the comments by noting that besides the lemma "Simon," there is an alternate reading "Simeon." It is explained that both are varations of the same name, and several other examples are offered to prove the point. The commentary then passes on to the rest of the verse, stating that Peter begins the letter by encouraging the audience to share in the same zeal for preaching as the apostles, since they share the same precious faith. The commentary continues with v. 3, not returning again to the issue of the name Simon.

1 John 4:3

184. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 7.32

1: λύει vg; Ir^{1739mg} Cl^{1739mg} Or^{1739mg} Lcf

2*: μὴ ὁμολογεῖ (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> αὐτίκα γοῦν ἠγνόησεν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ᾿Ιωάννου <ἐπιστολῇ> γέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀντιγράφοις, ὅτι 'πᾶν πνεῦμα, ὃ λύει τὸν ᾿Ιησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, <ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ> οὐκ ἔστιν.' ταύτην γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων περιεῖλον οἱ χωρίζειν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀνθρώπου βουλόμενοι τὴν θεότητα. διὸ καὶ οἱ

παλαιοὶ ἑρμηνεῖς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπεσημήναντο, ὥς τινες εἶεν ῥαδιουργήσαντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, λύειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον θέλοντες. (Hansen)[143]

> Now he was evidently unacquainted with the fact that in the *First Catholic* (*Epistle*) *of John* it was written in the ancient copies, "Every spirit that separates Jesus from God, is not (from God)." This difference from the ancient copies is attributable to those who desire to separate the divine nature from the human economy; or to use the very language of the early interpreters, some persons have corrupted this epistle, desiring to separate the humanity of Christ from his divinity. (NPNF 2.2:171 [modified])

Socrates discusses the evolution of Nestorius's heresy and cites his ignorance and illiteracy, using this text as an example. Socrates explains that Nestorius must not have been familiar with this reading, since it explicitly condemns those who would divide Jesus, separating his natures. Socrates identifies this reading as being among the older MSS, and he attributes the change or corruption of the text to the heretics who did not want their heresy condemned.[144] He continues by emphasizing that the humanity and divinity of Christ cannot be separated and turns to evidence from Eusebius and other fathers.

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[143] *Sokrates Kirchengeschichte* (ed. G. C. Hansen; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 381.

[144] The marginal note of 1739 (possibly dating back to the 4th cent., thus roughly contemporary with Socrates) corroborates the assessment that this reading is older, citing the evidence of Irenaeus, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria (Lake et al., "Codex 1739," 198). Interestingly, Metzger echoes Socrates' attribution of the variant to heresy, although in the reverse (since μὴ ὁμολογεῖ is the preferred reading): "The origin of λύει is probably to be sought in second century polemic against Gnostics who made a distinction between the earthly Jesus and the heavenly Christ" (*Textual Commentary*, 645).

Revelation 1:2

185. Arethas of Caesarea, *Comm. Apoc.* 1:2

1: *omit* (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: καὶ ὅσα ἤκουσε, καὶ ἅ τινα εἰσὶ, καὶ ἅτινα δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα (cf.

> 𝔐[A]: καὶ ἅτινα εἰσὶ καὶ ἅτινα χρή γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα)
>
> Ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἀντιγράφῳ πρόσκειται, καὶ ταῦτα, "Καὶ ὅσα ἤκουσε, καὶ ἅ τινα εἰσὶ, καὶ ἅτινα δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα." Ὁ Χριστός μοι, φησὶν, ἐφανέρωσεν ὡς δεσπότης τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ διὰ τῶν ὁραθέντων διαμαρτύρασθαι καὶ κηρύξαι πρὸς ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἀκουόντων, τάτε ὄντα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λανθάνοντα, τάτε μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. προφητικῶς γὰρ ἑώρακεν ἀμφότερα. καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ εἰρῆσθαι, "ἅτινά εἰσι, καὶ ἃ χρὴ γενέσθαι." ταῦτα γὰρ παραστατικὰ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος χρόνου καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, περὶ ἃ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὸ εὐδόκιμον. (Cramer, 8:183)
>
> In another copy it adds also the following: "And all that he heard, both whatever is happening now, and whatever must happen after these things." Christ appeared to me, he says, as a master to his servant, in order to warn through the things seen and preach for the conversion of the hearers what is, and for the people who are unaware, what is coming. For prophetically he has seen both. And this is clear from what was said, "whatever is happening now, and that which must necessarily happen." For these things, around which even the reputation of the prophets is built, accompany the present time and what is to come.

Commenting on the end of Rev 1:2, Arethas begins by noting that following "all that he saw," one MS continues with "and all that he heard," and so forth. His interpretation then includes the variant, emphasizing both the hearing of the message and the distinction of revealing the present as well as the future events, the latter theme continuous with the preceding commentary. As the commentary continues, with v. 3, Arethas picks up on the mention of "those who hear" the prophecy and returns to this theme of not only what is seen but what is heard.

Revelation 2:22

186. Primasius, *Comm. Apoc.* 1.2 (2:22)

(See Additional Texts.)

Revelation 3:7

187. Andrew of Caesarea, *Comm. Apoc.* 3:7

1: τοῦ Δαυίδ ℵ 𝔐; Or (*omit* τοῦ: A C 1611. 1854. 2053. 2329 *pc*) [NA]

2: τοῦ ᾅδου 2050 *pc*

> Κλεὶς τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ κέκληται· ἐξουσίας γὰρ αὕτη σύμβολον. κλεὶς δὲ πάλιν τῆς τε ψαλμικῆς βίβλου καὶ πάσης προφητείας τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, δι᾽ οὗ οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς γνώσεως ἀνοίγονται. καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον δέχεται, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἔχει κατὰ τὸ ἄναρχον τῆς θεότητος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἀντὶ τοῦ »Δαυὶδ« »ᾅδου« γέγραπται, διὰ τῆς τοῦ ᾅδου κλειδὸς ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Χριστῷ προσμεμαρτύρηται· ἅγιος δὲ καὶ ἀληθινὸς ὡς αὐτοαγιωσύνη καὶ αὐτοουσιώδης ἀλήθεια. (Schmid)[145]
>
> His kingdom is called "the key of David"; for this is a symbol of authority. But again the key to both the book of Psalms and to all prophecy is the Holy Spirit, through whom the "treasures of knowledge" [Col 2:3] are opened. And he receives the first key according to human standards, but he has the second key according to the supremacy of the godhead. But since in some of the copies instead of "David," "Hades" is written, through the key of Hades the authority over life and death is attested by Christ; but he is "holy" and "true" because of his holiness and truth in his own nature.

Turning to the letter to the church in Philadelphia, Andrew begins by explaining the phrase "key of David" as it applies to the rule and authority of Christ. After describing the Holy Spirit as the key to interpreting psalms and prophecy, Andrew mentions that there is a variant reading, "key of Hades," and then proceeds to explicate the variant as well: the key of Hades gives Christ authority over life and death. Andrew

[145] J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des Grieschischen Apokalypse-Textes. Teil 1: Text* (München: Karl Zink, 1955), 38.

then briefly comments on the two descriptors preceding “the one having the key,”—holy and true—and continues with v. 8, without carrying through the themes of either David or Hades.

188. Arethas of Caesarea, *Comm. Apoc.* 3:7

1: Δαβὶδ (see above)

2: τοῦ ᾅδου

> ἐπειδὴ δέ τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ τὴν Δαβὶδ ἔχει κλεῖδα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ᾅδου, οὐδὲν διάφορον οὐδὲ ἐν τούτῳ. δείκνυται γὰρ ἐκ τούτου, ὡς ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου τὴν κυρίαν, ἅτε Θεὸς ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀναμφιβόλως ἔχει. (Cramer, 8:224)
>
> While some of the copies do not have “key of David,” but “of Hades,” there is no real difference in meaning. For this indicates that since Christ is God, he unambiguously holds the master key of life and death.

In this extended scholion, Arethas builds on Andrew’s discussion to emphasize the significance of this passage for Trinitarian theology. The one who holds the key, or authority, is God, so Christ’s possession of the key shows his divinity. Arethas particularly argues against certain Christological heresies that would misunderstand such a text. At the end of the discussion on this verse, Arethas then notes the variant, but he finds no significant difference between the readings. Both versions emphasize the authority of the one who holds the key, so the fact that Christ has the key of Hades, the power over life and death, shows that he is undoubtedly God.

Revelation 4:11

189. Primasius, *Comm. Apoc.* 1.4 (4:11)

1: *omit*[146]

2: erant [ἦσαν] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

> Victoria coronarum palmarum signo aptius conparatur, dicentes: *Dignus es domine deus noster accipere claritatem et honorem et potestatem quoniam tu creasti omnia, et ex tua potestate haec sunt constituta*, uel sicut alia editione translatum inuenimus: Quia tu creasti omnia, et propter uoluntatem tuam erant et creata sunt. Erant scilicet in arte priusquam formarentur in opere. Creata sunt autem ut in suis quaeque naturis secundum praescriptos in dei sapientia terminos etiam uisibiliter extitissent. (CCSL 92:58)
>
> The victory of crowns is suitably compared with the symbol of palms, saying, "Worthy is the Lord Our God to receive splendor and honor and power because you created all things, and from your power these things are constructed," or as we find translated by another edition: "since you created all things, and by your will they were, and are created." Certainly "they were" in theory before they would be formed in deed. But "they are created" so that each in themselves by nature would also visibly come into existence according to the ends predetermined in the wisdom of God.

Discussing the twenty-four elders worshiping around the throne in Revelation 4, Primasius compares the crowns they lay down to the palms deposited by the crowd at the triumphal entry of Jesus. He then connects this to v. 11 and the blessing spoken there. After offering one translation of the verse, he notes the translation of "another edition" (the Vulgate), and then comments on the final two verbs of the second translation. While he does not comment strictly on the fact of the inclusion of "erant" in the Vulgate (or the omission from his lemma), it is part of the larger variations between the two translations that he does discuss. Specifically, Primasius refers to the different nuances of the two verbs and how they describe what God has created. After this, he closes out Book 1, and

[146] Cf. the UBS apparatus, which reads in part: "*omit* ἦσαν καί Varimadum Fulgentius Primasius."

chapter 4, of the commentary with a final sentence, setting up his further exposition in Book 2.

Revelation 13:18

190. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.30.1

1: ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ (some variation of this number: 𝔓[47] א A P 051. 1006. 1841. 1854. 2053[vid] *al* 𝔐; Ir Hipp) [NA, UBS, Metzger][147]

2: ἑξακόσιαι δέκα ἕξ 𝔓[115] C; Ir[mss]

> Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου κειμένου, καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν 'Ιωάννην ἑωρακότων, καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θηρίου κατὰ τὴν τῶν ῾Ελλήνων ψῆφον διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων ἑξακοσίους ἕξει καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἕξ, τουτέστι τὰς δεκάδας ἴσας ταῖς ἑκατοντάσι καὶ τὰς ἑκατοντάδας ἴσας ταῖς μονάσιν – ὁ γὰρ τῶν ἓξ ἀριθμὸς διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως διασῳζόμενος ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν μηνύει πάσης ἀποστασίας τῆς τε ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς μέσοις καιροῖς καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ τέλει –, οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐσφάλησάν τινες ἐπακολουθήσαντες ἰδιωτισμῷ καὶ τὸν μέσον ἠθέτησαν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος, πεντήκοντα ψήφους ὑφελόντες καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἓξ δεκάδων μίαν δεκάδα βουλόμενοι εἶναι. Τοῦτο δ' εἰκὸς γραφικὸν ἁμάρτημα γεγονέναι, ὡς φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων οἱ ἀριθμοὶ τίθενται, ῥᾳδίως τοῦ ξ γράμματος εἰς τὸ ι ἐξαπλουμένου. (SC 153:370-73)[148]

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[147] I have added here 𝔓[115], which was published too recently to be included in NA[27] (for a thorough examination of this papyrus and its quality as a textual witness, see D. C. Parker, "A New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Revelation: P[115] (P. Oxy. 4499)," *NTS* 46 [2000]: 159-74). For a fuller and more recent assessment of the evidence for this variant than the NA or UBS apparatuses, see J. N. Birdsall, "Irenaeus and the Number of the Beast: Revelation 13,18," in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel* (ed. A. Denaux; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 349-59. In support of the 616 reading, Birdsall also notes some Latin and Armenian evidence, as well as two Greek MSS cited by Tischendorf (identified as 5 and 11) that have since been lost and thus are usually overlooked. Birdsall adds the interesting comment: "I do not think that record of their readings so far as we have it should disappear. They have the same status as when we allude to manuscripts which were known for example, to Origen, Jerome, Socrates Scholasticus. Past scholars of the standing of those mentioned have as much right to give their testimony as these earlier church authors" (ibid., 350). In other words, Tischendorf has just as much right to offer evidence of non-extant witnesses as does Irenaeus.

[148] This portion of Irenaeus's text is preserved primarily in Latin and Armenian, but Greek excerpts regarding the variant also appear in Eusebius and John of Damascus. Aside from the apparatus in SC, see also Birdsall, "Irenaeus and the Number of the Beast: Revelation 13,18."

> Now such being the state of the case, and this number being set down in all the good and old copies, and testimony being given by the persons themselves who had seen John with their eyes, and reason teaching us that the number of the name of the Beast, according to the Greeks' reckoning, by the letters therein, will have 600, and 60, and 6; i.e., as many tens as hundreds, and as many hundreds as units; (for the number or digit six, being retained in all alike, indicates the summings up of his whole apostacy, which shall be both in the beginning, and in the intermediate times, and in the end;) some, I know not how, have erred, following a particular reading, and have taken liberties with the middle number of the name, subtracting the value of fifty, and choosing to have one decade instead of six. And this I suppose to have been the fault of the transcribers, as often happens, since numbers also are expressed by letters;—that the Greek letter which expresses the number sixty was spread out into the Grecians' letter Iota. (Keble)[149]

To show that the Antichrist is the fulfillment of all apostasy, Irenaeus compares other denominations of six in the OT, such as Noah being 600 years old at the time of the flood, where the number symbolizes disobedience or lawlessness. Based on these precedents, and the evidence of the best and oldest copies, Irenaeus argues that the number of the beast is 666, indicating the fullness of the beast's apostasy. By some transcriptional error, he explains, other copies have come to read 616. He can excuse the scribes who did this by honest mistake or those who have been accidentally led astray by the error, but there will be more severe judgment for those who have intentionally changed Scripture, in line with the admonition at the end of Revelation.

Revelation 15:6

191. Andrew of Caesarea, *Comm. Apoc.* 15:5-6

1: λίνον (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: λίθον A C 2053. 2062 *pc* vg^{st} sy^{hmg}

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[149] *Five Books of S. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, Against Heresies* (trans. J. Keble; Oxford: J. Parker, 1872), 519.

> Σκηνήν φησιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ἧς καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τῷ Μωϋσῇ πῆξαι τὴν κάτω σκηνὴν ὁ θεὸς ἐχρημάτισεν. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ναοῦ ἐξελεύσεσθαί φησι τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐνδεδυμένους λίνον ἢ λίθον καθαρόν, καθά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔχουσι, διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν καθαρότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον λίθον Χριστὸν ἐγγύτητα καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν λαμπρότητα. ἐζωσμένους δὲ τὰ στήθη χρυσὸν διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως δυνατόν τε καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ τίμιον καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς διακονίαις ἀνεμπόδιστον. (Schmid)[150]
>
> It says, "tent"—here, the one in the heavens, in imitation of which God revealed to Moses to pitch the earthly tent. From this "temple," it says, emerged the angels "clothed in clean linen"—or "stone," as some of the copies have—because of the purity of their nature, their proximity to "Christ the cornerstone," and the brilliance of their virtues. And they were "wrapped around their chests with gold" because of the might, purity, and worth of their nature and their unhindered service.

While explicating Rev 15:5-6 phrase by phrase, Andrew elaborates on the description of the heavenly tabernacle, carrying through the mention of Moses in the preceding verses, and the angels serving there. While his lemma reads "clothed in linen," he notes the variant "stone" and then uses the latter reading as the base for his exegesis. He proceeds to explain each word of the phrase "pure bright stone," referencing Christ the cornerstone (Eph 2:20) as the exegesis of "stone." Andrew does not dwell on this image but turns to the next scriptural phrase. In the next portion of commentary, on v. 7, Andrew also mentions Ezekiel in the description of the four living creatures, providing another possible connection to the stone imagery (cf. Ezek 28:13).

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[150] Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte*, 161-62.

ADDITIONAL TEXTS

The texts included here do not meet the same criteria as the texts in the Catalogue (discussions showing explicit knowledge of multiple readings among the MSS) but are valuable supplements to the overall conversation about variants and scribal practices. Since these texts are supplementary, the numbering below corresponds to the numbering from the Catalogue.

Matthew 5:45

14. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 20.17(15) [20.143-145]

> πρόσχες γὰρ τῷ »Ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς« ἐμφαίνοντι ὅτι οὐ πρότερόν τις ὢν υἱὸς τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς πατρὸς γίνεται αὐτοῦ υἱός. ἐπιμελῶς δὲ τηρήσας καὶ περὶ τοῦ προσκειμένου τῷ »Τοῦ πατρός«, ὅπερ ἐστίν, »Ὑμῶν« (γέγραπται γάρ· »Ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν«), ζητήσεις πότερον ἁπλούστερον εἴρηται, ἢ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἡμαρτημένων πρόσκειται τὸ »Ὑμῶν« (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐζητήσαμεν, εἰ ἐγέγραπτο· »ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς«), καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ μάχην περιέχειν τὸ γίνεσθαι υἱόν τινα, οὐχ ἁπλῶς τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς πατρός, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρός. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πατήρ ἐστιν, οὐχ ὕστερον γίνεται αὐτοῦ υἱός· εἰ δὲ γίνεται αὐτοῦ υἱός, οὐχ ἦν αὐτοῦ πατήρ. (GCS, Or 4:349)
>
> For note the clause, “that you may become sons of your Father in heaven,” which indicates that one who was not formerly a son of the Father in heaven becomes his son. And when you have also carefully observed that “your” is added to “Father” (for it is written, “That you may become sons of your Father”), you will ask whether this was said in the simpler sense, or the “your” is added because the copies are in error. For we would have made no investigation had it been written, “That you might become sons of the Father in heaven.” For one to become a son, however, not simply of the Father in heaven, but of his own Father, seems to contain a contradiction. For if he is his Father [already], he does not later become his son; but if he becomes his son, he was not [previously] his Father. (FC 89:236 [brackets original])

In his exposition of John 8:42, regarding the fatherhood of God, Origen turns to a passage from Matt 5:43-45. After quoting the verses, he pauses to point out what he understands to be a complication in the text: one cannot become the child of someone who is already that person's father. Origen speculates that "your" was added to the text in error, so that it should actually read "the father" rather than "your father." He then returns to the full passage from Matthew and its interpretation on the matter of being children of God.

Matthew 19:19

32. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 15.14

> . . . ὅτι μήποτε τὸ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτὸν ὑπονοεῖσθαι δύναται ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐνταῦθα παρειλῆφθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπό τινος τὴν ἀκρίβειαν μὴ νοήσαντος τῶν λεγομένων προστεθεῖσθαι. συναγορεύσει δὲ τῇ ὑπονοήσει τοῦ προστεθεῖσθαι ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἡ τῶν ὁμοίων παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ καὶ τῷ Λουκᾷ ἔκθεσις, ὧν οὐδέτερος προστέθεικε ταῖς κατὰ τὸν τόπον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ παραληφθείσαις ἐντολαῖς τὸ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν. . . .
>
> Καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν διαφωνία ἦν πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν ἀντιγράφων, ὥστε πάντα τὰ κατὰ Ματθαῖον μὴ συνᾴδειν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ εὐαγγέλια, κἂν ἀσεβής τις ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὁ ὑπονοῶν ἐνταῦθα προσερρίφθαι οὐκ εἰρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος πρὸς τὸν πλούσιον τὴν ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἐντολήν. νυνὶ δὲ δῆλον ὅτι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς <εἴτε ἀπὸ ἀμελούντων>[1] τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων,

[1] The emendations in brackets in GCS are based on the Latin translation. Alternately, A. D. Loman proposes the reading: εἴτε ἀπὸ μοχθηρίας τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ("Varia," *Theologisch tijdschrift* 7 [1873]: 233; cf. Metzger, "Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies: In Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* [ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; New York: Herder, 1963], 79).

εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει <ἢ> προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων.[2] (GCS, Or 10:385-88)

Probably the words, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, may be suspected not to have formed part of the Saviour's utterance at that time, but to have been added by someone who did not grasp the exact significance of the passage. Our suspicion that the words, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, are here an addition, is confirmed by the account of the incident in Mark and in Luke. Neither of these has added to the commandments mentioned in this place by Jesus the words, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. . . .

Of course if there had not been in many other details diversity in our copies, so that the texts of Matthew do not all agree, and the other Gospels are in like case, a man would have appeared irreverent who suggested that the commandment, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, was in this passage an addition and was never really mentioned by the Saviour to the rich man. But it is a recognized fact that there is much diversity in our copies, whether by the carelessness of certain scribes, or by some culpable rashness in the correction of the text, or by some people making arbitrary additions or omissions in their corrections. . . . (Tollinton)[3]

In his discussion of Matthew 19, Origen compares the other Synoptic versions, which lack Jesus speaking the commandment "Love your neighbor as yourself." Based on this, he speculates that the command is a later addition to Matthew's Gospel, not original to Matthew himself. For Origen, the absence of this statement clears up potential problems in the text, such as the fact that Jesus told the rich man there is something he still lacks, which would not appear to be true if the man indeed had fulfilled the commandment to love his neighbor. Also, had Jesus spoken these words, Mark and Luke would not have omitted them. This example then leads Origen to offer as further evidence the great diversity among the NT MSS. Origen mentions that although the same problem is found in the OT, he was able to provide a corrective to this diversity

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[2] At this point, the Latin continues with a section not extant in the Greek: "in exemplariis autem novi testamenti hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi. tantum suspiciones exponere me debere et rationes causasque suspicionum, non esse inrationabile existimavi. . . ."

[3] *Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen* (trans. R. B. Tollinton; London: SPCK, 1929), 108-10.

through the Hexapla. (In the Latin translation, Origen adds that he was not able to do the same thing for the NT.) He then returns to the passage at hand and exegetes it based on the inclusion of the commandment, for those who do not accept his conjecture that it was a later addition. In this case, Jesus was telling the man that he had not actually kept the commandment as he thought he had.

Matthew 21:9

34. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 16.19

> εἶτα δοκεῖ μοι ὑπὸ ῾Ελλήνων συνεχῶς γραφόμενα τὰ εὐαγγέλια μὴ εἰδότων τὴν διάλεκτον, συγκεχύσθαι ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἔχουσι ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου Ψαλμοῦ. (GCS, Or 10:541-42)
>
> So my opinion is that the Gospels in being copied over and over again by persons who did not know the language became confused at this point in the quotation from the Psalm mentioned above.[4]

As Origen explains the quotation of Ps. 118:25-26 in Matthew, he takes note of the differences between the quotation and the Hebrew of the psalm, particularly the divergence of the first phrase, “Hosanna to the son of David.” Origen points out the difference from the Hebrew “O Lord, indeed save” and then offers a transliteration of the Hebrew. He suggests that the difference between the two versions is due to Greek scribes who did not know Hebrew, and through repeated copying, errors crept into the text. He then points the reader who desires to know the best translation toward Aquila, before returning to his exegesis of the Matthean passage.

[4] Metzger, “Explicit References,” 92.

Matthew 24:19

37. Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 43

1: nutrientibus [θηλαζούσαις?] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: sugentibus [θηλαζομέναις?] D

> Sed et si videatur formatum et fructificatum verbum, non autem fuerit enutritum sufficienter augentibus et magnum facientibus eum nutrimentis, sed manserit inmaturum, secundum similitudinem sugentis lactatum, et super huiusmodi generationes veniet quod super sugentes. si autem (sicut in multis exemplariis) scriptum est *vae sugentibus*, dicendum est quoniam animae sunt quae lactantur adhuc, ad quas dicit apostolus: »lac vobis potum dedi, non escam; nondum enim poteratis, sed nec usque adhuc potestis, adhuc enim estis carnales«. dicit autem et alibi: »facti estis opus habentes lacte, et non solida esca. omnis enim qui lacte alitur, inperitus est verbo iustitiae: parvulus enim est«. istae sunt ergo animae, quae propter infirmitatem, et quia facile seducuntur, non possunt inseducibiliter permanere a conspectu abominationis desolationis stantis »in loco sancto«: seductae enim consentiunt ei utpote deo. et est videre haereticorum ecclesias plenas de lamentandis *praegnantibus* vel *nutrientibus* vel *sugentibus*. plerumque enim animae, quae in ecclesia praegnantes fuerunt aut nutrients aut sugentes <et> fuerunt seductae a desolationis abominatione et seductae ab eo verbo falso, qui stat »in loco sancto« per falsam traditionem dogmatum perversorum, abominationis illius susceperunt *vae* quod a domino dictum est: *vae in utero habentibus et nutrientibus*, non autem quandocumque, sed in diebus illius abominationis desolationum. omnis enim qui audit verba »iniquitatem in excelsum« loquentium, et suscipit ea in diebus eius, ille abominationi desolationis subditus fit. (GCS, Or 11:87-88)

> But even if the word might be seen fully formed and bearing fruit, yet not nourished sufficiently for growth and for making that person big through nourishment, and remained immature, as though suckling milk, even after begettings of this kind will come the word which is beyond suckling. But if (as in many copies) is written "woe to those suckling," it is saying this because there are people who are still drinking breastmilk, concerning which the Apostle says, "I gave you milk as a drink, not solid food; for you were not yet capable, but even now you are still not capable, for you are still fleshly" [1 Cor 3:2-3]. But he says also in another place, "You have come to need milk, and not solid food. For everyone who is fed milk is unfamiliar with the word of righteousness; for such a person is a child" [Heb 5:12-13]. Those are the people who because of weakness, and because they are easily led astray, are not able to persist in not being led astray by the sight of the abomination of desolation standing "in the holy place"; for those who have been led astray consent to it as to a god. And it is to see the

> church full of heretics from the lamenting "pregnant" or "nourishing"[5] or "suckling" ones. For often people in the church who were "pregnant" or "nourishing" or "suckling" <also> were the ones led astray by the abomination of desolation and led astray by a false word, which stands "in the holy place" by false tradition of perverse doctrine; they receive the "woe" of this abomination because it is said by the Lord, "Woe to those who are with child and nourishing," not whenever, but "in the days" of this abomination of desolation. For everyone who hear the words of those speaking "iniquity in the highest" [Ps 72:8 LXX] and receives them in his days, this one is made subject to the abomination of desolation.

Citing in the lemma "praegnantibus et nutrientibus," the commentary first addresses biblical pregnancy and childbirth metaphors (cf. Isa 26:18; Gal 4:19; 1 Tim 2:15), particularly the word growing within and bearing fruit. This second paragraph then turns to the next part of the phrase, soon presenting the variant reading. If the variant noted here (as being in "many copies") was present in either the Greek or Latin MSS, it has since become a rare reading. It is unclear whether Origen himself was commenting on a Greek variant, or the Latin translator was commenting on what is a translational difference representing a single Greek word. The difference between the Latin terms seems to indicate either the active or passive mode (the one giving milk or the one receiving milk) and thus may stem from the active and middle/passive variants of the Greek verb. Otherwise, the difference may simply indicate two translational choices from a Greek verb that could have either meaning (similar to the English verbs "nurse" or "suckle"). In this context, Origen or his translator uses both terms throughout the commentary, which focuses on spiritual nourishment and apostolic references to receiving milk versus solid food. In repeating the verse, however, he does return to the

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[5] The more natural English translation here would be "nursing." However, I have opted to use "nourishing" for two reasons: (1) to bring out the use of this word group in the Latin, extending back to the beginning of the paragraph; and (2) to highlight the more active sense of the one who is providing nourishment, which is ambiguous in the English term "nursing."

lemma, “nutrientibus” (although he curiously presents here an alternative translation for the first half of the clause, “in utero habentibus” instead of “praegnantibus”).

Matthew 26:63//Mark 14:61

40. Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 118

> Marcus autem pro: »si tu es Christus filius dei« sic scribit: »tu es filius benedicti?« forsitan aut illud quod simpliciter scriptum est, aut hoc quod dubitanter, nescio si non mendum habeant exemplaria, cum debuissent ambo aequaliter dicere: »si tu es«, aut ambo: »tu es«. (GCS, Or 11:251)
>
> Mark, however, for “if you are the Messiah, the Son of God” writes thus: “Are you the son of the Blessed One?” Perhaps it is either the former which is written plainly, or the latter which is written with doubt; I do not know whether the copies might have a mistake, since they ought both to say alike: “if you are . . . ,” or both: “are you. . . .”

During his exposition of Jesus’s trial before Pilate (Matt 27:11), Origen compares Jesus’s response to the answer given to the Sanhedrin and notes that the high priest’s question in Mark is slightly different from the question in Matthew. Since Origen expects both Gospels to transmit faithfully the words actually spoken, he suggests that there is an error here in the MS tradition because both versions should follow either one version of the question or the other. He does not belabor the point, however, and moves on with his exegesis of the next passage.

Mark 1:2

48. Eusebius, *Supp. qu. Marin.* 2

> Τοῦτο τὸ προφητικὸν ῥητὸν Μαλαχίου ἐστὶν, οὐχ ῾Ησαΐου· γραφέως τοίνυν ἐστὶ σφάλμα, ὥς φησιν Εὐσέβιος ὁ Καισαρείας ἐν τῷ *Πρὸς*

Μαρῖνον περὶ τῆς δοκούσης ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως διαφωνίας. (PG 22:1008)[6]

> This prophetic saying is from Malachi, not Isaiah; therefore it is an error of the scribe, as Eusebius the Caesarean says in *ad Marinum* concerning the apparent discrepancy among the resurrection accounts in the Gospels.

This brief excerpt refers back to the comments by Eusebius on the differences among the resurrection appearances in the Gospels (see further examples in his comments on Mark 16 in the Catalogue [§§55, 56]). The reference to a scribal error is consistent with Eusebius's discussion of a similar example at Matt 27:9 (see §42, above). Some variants at Mark 1:2 remove Isaiah's name, but no extant variants supply Malachi instead.

Luke 2:4; John 7:42

63. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 51.9.7

> διὸ ἕν τινι τῶν ἀντιγράφων τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν καλεῖται πόλις τοῦ Δαυίδ, ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ κώμην αὐτὴν φάσκει διὰ τὸ εἰς ὀλίγην γῆν αὐτὴν ἡκέναι. (GCS, Epi 2:260)

> And thus Bethlehem is called the *city* of David in one copy of the Evangelists, while in another it calls it a village, because it had come to occupy a small area. (Williams, 2:34)

Epiphanius is discussing the nativity account in Luke and referring here to the size of Bethlehem. He points out that many people had been scattered during the Maccabean wars and no longer lived in or near Bethlehem, so, like Joseph, they had to travel to return for the census. In the midst of this, he notes the different references to the size of Bethlehem, whether a city or a village. Epiphanius is referring to a difference

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[6] This section of excerpts is introduced as follows: "*Ex Graeco scholiaste ad Marcum apud Rich. Simonium in* Historia critica interpretum Novi Testamenti *cap.* 6."

between Luke and John, but his language of "in one copy of the evangelists" echoes language used of variants in other contexts, emphasizing how the fathers often treated the parallel Gospels as though multiple MSS of the same text. There are no extant variants in Luke or John for these words.

Luke 2:33

64. Jerome, *Helv.* 8, 16 (18)

1: pater illius [ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ] ℵ B D L W 1. 700. 1241. *l* 2211 *pc* vg $sy^{s.hmg}$ sa bo^{pt};

Or^{lat} [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2*: Ioseph [Ἰωσήφ] (A) Θ (Ψ) f^{13} 33 𝔐 it vg^{mss} $sy^{p.h}$ bo^{pt}

> Ac ne impudenter [*Al.* imprudenter] neges, ista ignorasse Joseph: *Et erant*, inquit Lucas, *pater illius, et mater admirantes super his, quae dicebantur de eo*. Licet tu mira impudentia haec in Graecis codicibus falsata contendas, quae non solum omnes pene Graeciae Tractatores in suis voluminibus reliquerunt; sed nonnulli quoque e Latinis, ita ut in Graecis habetur, assumpserint. Nec necesse est nunc de exemplariorum varietate tractare, cum omne et veteris et novae Scripturae instrumentum in Latinum sermonem exinde translatum sit, et multo purior manare credenda sit fontis unda, quam rivi.
>
> Et ipse Evangelista referens: *Et erant pater et mater illius admirantes super his quae dicebantur de eo*, et his similia, quae jam enumeravimus, in quibus parentes vocantur. Ac ne forte de exemplariorum varietate causeris, quia tibi stultissime persuasisti Graecos codices esse falsatos. . . . (PL 23:191, 200-201)
>
> You cannot for shame say Joseph did not know of them, for Luke tells us, "His father and mother were marvelling at the things which were spoken concerning Him." And yet you with marvellous effrontery contend that the reading of the Greek manuscripts is corrupt, although it is that which nearly all the Greek writers have left us in their books, and not only so, but several of the Latin writers have taken the words the same way. Nor need we now consider the variations in the copies, since the whole record both of the Old and New Testament has since that time been translated into Latin, and we must believe that the water of the fountain flows purer than that of the stream.
>
> The Evangelist himself relates that His father and His mother were marvelling at the things which were spoken concerning Him, and there are similar passages

which we have already quoted in which Joseph and Mary are called his parents. Seeing that you have been foolish enough to persuade yourself that the Greek manuscripts are corrupt, you will perhaps plead the diversity of readings. (NPNF 2.6:338, 343)

Jerome is contending against Helvidius, who claimed Joseph and Mary had marital relations after the birth of Jesus. Part of Jerome's rebuttal concerns Joseph and whether he was in any sense literally the father of Jesus or of those who are referred to as the siblings of Jesus. In paragraph 8, Jerome argues that Joseph knew that Mary had been a vessel of the Holy Spirit and given birth to the Son of God, and therefore Joseph would not dare touch such a temple of God. One of the proof texts Jerome offers is Luke 2:33. Immediately after this verse, he comments on the readings in the Greek and Latin MSS and the accusation Helvidius has purportedly made that the MSS are corrupt at this point. Jerome moves on in his argument, but later, in paragraph 18, he again refers to Luke 2:33, and once more immediately comments on the accusation that the MSS are corrupt. As further proof of his point (that Joseph was referred to as the father of Jesus), Jerome then cites John 1:45, which Helividius might find a more reliable text ("You will certainly find this in your manuscript"). Although Jerome does not explicitly state what the variant or supposed corruption was, it is most likely the reading that substitutes "Joseph" for "his father."

John 3:6

81. Ambrose, *Spir.* 3.10.59

Nec solum hoc loco evidenter sancti spiritus θεότητα, hoc est deitatem scriptura testatur, sed etiam ipse dominus dixit in evangelio *quia deus spiritus est*. Quem locum ita expresse, Arriani, testificamini esse de spiritu, ut eum de vestris codicibus auferatis. Adque utinam de vestris et non etiam de ecclesiae codicibus tolleretis. Eo enim tempore, quo impiae infidelitatis Auxentius Mediolanensem

> ecclesiam armis exercituque occupaverat vel a Valente adque Ursacio nutantibus sacerdotibus suis incursabatur ecclesia Sirmiensis, falsum hoc et sacrilegium vestrum in ecclesiasticis codicibus depraehensum est. Et fortasse hoc etiam in oriente fecistis. (CSEL 79:174)
>
> Not only does the Scripture in this place clearly bear witness to the θεότης of the Holy Spirit, that is the Godhead, but the Lord himself also said in the Gospel: "For the Spirit is God." This passage, O Arians, you testify to be so expressly regarding the Spirit that you remove it from your texts, and would that you had taken it from your texts and not also from those of the Church. For at the time when Auxentius of impious infidelity had seized the Church of Milan with his arms and forces, or the Church of Sirmium was attacked by Valens and Ursatius, when their priests wavered in faith, this falsehood and sacrilege of yours was detected in the ecclesiastical texts. And perhaps you did this also in the East. (FC 44:174 [modified])[7]

Arguing for the divinity of the Holy Spirit against the Arians, Ambrose accuses them of distorting the Scriptures by expunging a phrase ("the Spirit is God") from John 3:6 that does not suit their theology. He notes especially that this became known in Western MSS, as he speculates that it may have happened also in the East. After this paragraph, Ambrose continues with the theme of deletion or erasure and claims that by rubbing out the divine names from Scripture, they have condemned themselves and succeeded only in removing the truth from themselves, not deleting it altogether. The variant to which Ambrose refers as being deleted from Arian texts is not known in the Greek tradition, only in the Latin and Syriac.[8]

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[7] Metzger also provides a partial translation: "So clearly do you Arians bear witness that this passage applies to the Spirit that you erase it from your copies. And would indeed that you expunged it from your own copies and not also from those of the Church! For at the time when Auxentius occupied the Church of Milan with an armed host of a impious heresy, or else when the Church at Sirmium was being harassed by Valens and Ursatius, its own priests wavering in their loyalty, this falsification and your sacrilegious deed was detected in the copies belonging to the Church. And perhaps you have done the same thing in the East" ("The Practice of Textual Criticism Among the Church Fathers," *StPatr* 12 [1975]: 348).

[8] Metzger cites the textual evidence in "Practice of Textual Criticism," 348 n. 2: "The Old Latin and Old Syriac texts read *quia Deus spiritus* (+ *vivus* syr^{s}) *est et ex Deo natus est* (om *et . . . est* it$^{e, ff2, m}$ syr$^{s, c}$) it$^{a, e, ff2, j, m}$ syr$^{s, c}$."

Romans 4:3

102. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 4.2.11

> Νομίζω δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἐπιστήσαντας τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῆς γραφῆς ἐκθέσθαι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Γενέσεως ῥητὸν οὐχ ὡς Παῦλος αὐτὸ ἔθηκεν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ· οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ὁ οὕτως ἀκριβὴς ἐξέθετο τὸ »᾿Επίστευσεν δὲ ᾿Αβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην«, ἀλλὰ »᾿Επίστευσεν δὲ ᾿Αβρὰμ[9] τῷ Θεῷ«. Οὕτω δὲ εἰκὸς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς γεγράφθαι ἐν τῇ πρὸς ῾Ρωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ ὅτι »᾿Ελογίσθη ἡ πίστις τῷ ᾿Αβρὰμ εἰς δικαιοσύνην«. Νυνὶ δὲ ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς ᾿Αβραάμ. (Heither, 6:132)
>
> But I think that Gentiles unlearned in the accuracy of Scripture laid out the reading from Genesis not as Paul originally had it; for the reading accurate in this way would not lay out "Abraham believed in God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness," but "Abram believed in God." And so it is also likely that in what follows in the Letter to the Romans it is written "faith was reckoned to Abram as righteousness." But now we have "Abraham."
>
> Sed diligentem lectorem, quem iota unum aut unus apex de lege non praeterit, ne illud quidem latere debet, quia hoc, quod apostolus dixit: "Reputata est Abrahae fides eius ad iustitiam", illo tempore, cum de eo scriptum est, quod crediderit Deo et reputatum sit ei ad iustitiam, nondum Abraham vocabatur, sed Abram erat nomen eius. Adhuc enim incircumcisus manebat, ut interpretatur apostolus. De quo aliquibus forte videbitur error in exemplaribus haberi, quod facile Abraham pro Abram scribi potuerit. Sed quia haec existimatio potius incerta est quam firma approbatio, nos compendiosius respondeamus, quod observans apostolus sententiam Dei, qui dixit: "Iam non Abram, sed Abraham erit nomen tuum", appellavit nunc eum, non ut in loco Genesis scriptum est, sed ut de eo pronuntiaverit Deus. Quae enim divinitus sanciuntur, observari in posterum convenit. (Heither, 2:188, 190)
>
> Not even this ought to escape the notice of the attentive reader who does not pass over a single jot or tittle of the law, that the Apostle said, "His faith was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness." However at the time when it was written of him that he believed God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness he was not yet called Abraham, but his name was Abram. For, as the Apostle explains, up to this point he was still uncircumcised. Concerning this, to some there will perhaps seem to be an error contained in the manuscripts, since it would have been quite

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[9] Heither reads ᾿Αβραάμ, although the corresponding Latin translation has Abram. In A. Ramsbotham's edition, all occurrences of ᾿Αβράμ appear as ᾿Αβραάμ. He explains in the notes, "Origen's point is that the text in Genesis (xv 6) has ᾿Αβράμ, while the current texts of Rom. iv 3, 9 have ᾿Αβραάμ, which he suggests is a slip due to the carelessness of Gentile Christian copyists." As if to prove the point, the copyists transmitting Origen's comment apparently made the same error ("Documents: The Commentary of Origen on the Epistle to the Romans: II," *JTS* 13 [1912]: 357).

> easy to write "Abraham" instead of "Abram." Yet because this is more of an uncertain guess than a solid proof, we should respond briefly that, in consideration of God's pronouncement which said, "Your name shall no longer be Abram but Abraham," the Apostle has named him [Abraham] here, not as it was written in the passage in Genesis, but as God had declared concerning him. For it is appropriate at a later time to note that which is divinely ordained. (FC 103:251-52)

In the Greek fragment, Origen speculates that it is due to scribes ignorant of the OT that what Paul would have originally (and accurately) quoted from Genesis, Abram, was later changed to Abraham. He assumes this to be true throughout the rest of Romans as Paul continues to quote Gen 15:6. The Latin translation of Origen's commentary pauses from the exegesis of Romans 4 to make a similar point, explaining more fully that Abraham was still Abram at the point in Genesis from which the quotation is taken. It is suggested that this is an error in the MSS (although, blame is not placed on ignorant scribes); however, to cover the possibility that Paul wrote "Abraham" throughout, it is pointed out when God had changed Abram's name to Abraham, he did so for all time.

Romans 16:5

118. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 10.19.1 [Rufinus]

1: primitiae [ἀπάρχη] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2: initium [ἀπ' ἀρχῆς] 𝔓[46] D* g m

> *Salutate Ephenetum dilectum meum, qui est initium Asiae in Christo.* Hic Ephenetus videtur mihi omnium primus ex Asia credidisse; unde et "initium" eum ecclesiae appellavit vel ut in Graeco habeatur "primitias Asiae", nisi aliquid profundius sermo iste significet, ut intelligamus angelos Dei, qui ecclesiis praesunt, offerre singulos quosque primitias Deo ex his, qui credunt, primitiae autem apud illos iudicentur non in his, qui tempore primi sunt, sed qui virtutibus et meritis praecellunt. Quorum sciens per spiritum Paulus electionem erga Ephenetum et quod ipsum ex omni fidelium numero, qui erant in Asia, electio invenerit angelorum, appellavit eum "primitias Asiae". Sed et in alia epistula dicit

de quibusdam, quia sint "primitias Achaiae" eandem sine dubio sacramenti rationem etiam in illis aspiciens. (Heither, 5:246, 248)

Greet my beloved Epaenetus who is the beginning of Asia in Christ. It appears to me that this Epaenetus was the first of all to believe from Asia. This is why he named him the beginning of the Church, or as it is rendered in Greek, "the firstfruits of Asia." Unless these words signify something more profound, that we are to understand the angels of God who preside over the churches as offering each individual as the firstfruits to God from those who believe [cf. Matt 13:30, 39, 41]. But among them it is not those who are first in time who would be judged as the firstfruits, but those who excel in virtues and merits. Knowing through the Spirit their choice of Epaenetus, that out of the entire number of the faithful who were in Asia, the choice of the angels had found him, Paul called him "the firstfruits of Asia." Moreover, in another epistle he says of certain ones, "For they are the firstfruits of Achaia" [1 Cor. 16:15]. No doubt he beholds in them as well the same reckoning of the mystery. (FC 104:292-93)

The lemma cited by Rufinus reads "initium," paralleling the Greek reading ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ("from the beginning"). However, Origen's commentary apparently was based upon an alternate reading, ἀπάρχη ("firstfruits"). It is unclear whether either Rufinus or Origen was aware that there were two different readings in the Greek MSS, rather than simply a Greek reading and a divergent Latin translation. Since both authors do mention variant readings throughout the *Commentary on Romans*, though, it is possible this is an intentional reference to two divergent readings. This part of the commentary walks verse by verse through the greetings in Romans 16, so after this paragraph, the commentary continues with the next clause without dwelling on the "firstfruits of Asia."

1 Corinthians 10:22

122. Pelagius, *Comm. 1 Cor.* 10:22

An domino aemulamur? [Aemulamur.] alii codices habent: 'ipsi me zelauerunt in non deo,' hoc est, ad zelum prouocauerunt. (Souter, 2:184)

Or are we jealous of the Lord?[10] [We are jealous.] Other manuscripts have: “They themselves have made me zealous in what is not God,” in other words, they provoke to zeal.

In his phrase by phrase commentary, Pelagius deals with the two questions in 1 Cor 10:22 separately. After posing the first question with a brief affirmative answer, he notes that other MSS have another reading. This reading is not a known variant and paraphrases Deut 32:21.[11] It was likely a marginal comment added to identify the source of Paul’s allusion and was at some point (by Pelagius or a copyist) mistaken to be part of the text of 1 Corinthians. Pelagius’s explanation of the alternate reading highlights the difference in the Latin and Greek verbs, the latter of which has a more causative sense (see n. 10). After this, Pelagius passes on to the next question in v. 22 without further comment on either variant.

1 Corinthians 11:10

123. Theodore of Mopsuestia, catena on 1 Cor 11:4-5

᾿Ανὴρ ἐὰν κατακαλύπτηται, ὑβρίζει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλήν, αὐτὸς κεφαλὴ τυγχάνων ὡς ὁ Χριστός· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐὰν ἀκατακάλυπτος προσεύχηται, ὑβρίζει τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλήν, τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν ὑποσυλῶσα καὶ κεφαλὴ αὐτὴ εἶναι βουλομένη ἀρχική. ἐν δὲ πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις φέρεται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔχειν τι ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς· ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ ὑποτετάχθαι τῷ ἀνδρί. (Staab, 187)

If “a man” is covered, he insults his own “head,” as Christ himself is “the head”; but if “the woman prays uncovered,” she insults the man, her own “head,” having taken away the honor of that one and wishing herself to be the ruling head. But in

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[10] Or, “do we make the Lord jealous?” (cf. the Vulgate, “an aemulamur Dominum”) . The Greek verb (παραζηλόω) has a more causative sense than the Latin, which Pelagius seems to recognize since he emphasizes the causative meaning of the variant (to provoke to zeal).

[11] See Souter (1:121): “[Pelagius] comments on *An aemulamur* (*adulamur*) *dominum?* He mentions a variant occurring in other manuscripts: *Ipsi me zelauerunt in non deo*. As no other Latin authority is known for this latter reading at this point, I think it probable that Pelagius is referring to the Old-Latin text of Deut. xxxii 21, from which verse this Pauline extract comes (αὐτοὶ παρεζήλωσάν με ἐπ᾿ οὐ θεῷ).”

many copies it reads in place of "to have something on the head" [v. 10] that which indicates subordination to the man.

In a scholion on 1 Cor 11:4-5, Theodore explains why a man is to pray with his head uncovered while a woman's is to be covered. He then adds a comment about the MSS, quoting a phrase that fits most closely with v. 10. (There is a variant attested in v. 10, for the word that would replace τι in Theodore's quotation: ἐξουσίαν [in the majority of witnesses] or κάλυμμα [in some Vulgate and Bohairic MSS, and in Ptolemy according to Irenaeus]. However, neither reading is explicitly mentioned here, so the meaning, and its text-critical value, remains vague.)

1 Corinthians 15:5

126. Pseudo-Oecumenius, catena

> Λέγομεν ἢ γραφικόν ἐστι σφάλμα, ἢ ὅτι τῷ προγνωστικῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ὁ κύριος εἰδὼς ὅτι συγκαταριθμηθήσεται τοῖς ἕνδεκα, ὤφθη καὶ αὐτῷ, ἵνα μηδὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἔλαττον ἔχῃ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων. τοιοῦτόν τι παραδηλοῖ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης· μηδαμοῦ μὲν λέγων ὅτι ὤφθη τοῖς ἕνδεκα, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Θωμᾶ διαλεγόμενος εἶπεν· Θωμᾶς δὲ εἷς ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὅτι τὸν Ματθίαν συνέταξε κατὰ πρόγνωσιν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις, ἢ τὸν Ἰούδαν μετὰ τὴν προδοσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀγχόνην. (Staab, 442)
>
> We say either this is a scribal error, or that the Lord, having seen with a foreknowing eye that he [Paul] would be counted with the eleven, appeared also to him, so that in this he would not have a lesser number of remaining apostles. Even John insinuates as much, stating nowhere that he appeared to the eleven, but discussing Thomas he said, "but Thomas, one of the Twelve" [John 20:24]; for instead we might say that with foreknowledge he categorized Matthias with the remaining apostles, or Judas after the betrayal and hanging.

In this scholion, the commentator does not mention an actual variant but speculates on a scribal error due to the perceived discrepancy between "the twelve" mentioned by Paul and the eleven disciples remaining after the resurrection. If the number is not an error, the commentator surmises, then either Paul or Matthias could

already (prophetically) be included in the number, or Judas has not yet been subtracted. The scholion, however, does not discuss further which reading is more accurate textually, nor does it explicitly attest the variant known in some MSS (see Augustine on 1 Cor 15:5 in the Catalogue [§125]).

2 Corinthians 1:1

135. Didymus, *Fr. 2 Cor.* 1:1

> Τὸ σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν ἀμφιβόλως λέγεται· ἤτοι γὰρ σὺν ἡμῖν πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι προσαγορεύουσιν ὑμᾶς, ἢ σὺν ὑμῖν πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους προσαγορεύομεν. οὐκ ἀγνοητέον ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις φέρεσθαι, ὡς ὑπὸ Παύλου καὶ Τιμοθέου μόνον κεχάρακται τὸ προκείμενον γράμμα. (Staab, 14)
>
> "With all the saints" is said ambiguously; for either "with us, all the saints address you," or "with you, we address all the saints." Let us not be ignorant that in some copies it has that the present letter is inscribed by Paul and Timothy only.

In this scholion, Didymus addresses a matter of interpretation about how the phrase "with all the saints" should be read, whether with the subject (Paul and Timothy) or the indirect object (to the church in Corinth). He then notes that in some MSS the letter is only from Paul and Timothy. Since there is no such variant extant for this verse, it is not entirely clear to what Didymus is referring.[12] In the context, he may be explaining that some MSS make it more clear that "all the saints" are the recipients and not co-senders. However, it also possible that Didymus knew a variant that lacked this phrase altogether or included another name with Paul and Timothy.

[12] Swanson does list 618, 1738 as lacking "those being in all of Asia" and 6 as lacking "those being," but the only copies lacking "with all the saints" have lacunae there.

Galatians 4:8

141. Ambrose, *Incarn.* 8.82

1: natura [φύσει] (majority of witnesses) [NA]

2*: *omit* K b d; Ir[lat] Ambst Spec

> Sed etiam alibi Paulus scripsit: *Sed tunc quidem ignorantes deum his, qui natura non sunt dii, servistis*. Ita enim et in graecis codicibus invenimus, quorum potior auctoritas est. (CSEL 79:265)

> But Paul elsewhere also wrote: 'But then, indeed, not knowing God, you served them who by nature are not gods.' For thus also we find it in the Greek versions, whose authority is greater. (FC 44:250)

Discussing the nature and substance of God, and therefore of the Son, Ambrose cites 2 Pet 1:4 as testimony to the divine nature, followed by a quotation of Gal 4:8 from Paul. Although Ambrose does not state the variant here, he implies one and feels the need to invoke the evidence of the Greek MSS in defense of his reading, emphasizing the superior value of this evidence. He then proceeds with his discussion of the divine nature, allowing these two citations by Peter and Paul to add the weight of apostolic authority to his argument.

Ephesians 1:1

144. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.12.3, 13.4 [Marcion]

> Συνᾳδόντως μὲν τῇ πρὸς ᾿Εφεσίους, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ ταύτας τὰς κατὰ σοῦ μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς λεγομένης πρὸς Λαοδικέας συνήγαγες. . . . οὐ γὰρ ἔδοξε τῷ ἐλεεινοτάτῳ Μαρκίωνι ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς ᾿Εφεσίους ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς Λαοδικέας, τῆς μὴ οὔσης ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ. (GCS 2[31]:182-83)

> In agreement with the Epistle to the Ephesians, Marcion, you have also gathered these testimonies against yourself from the so-called Epistle to the Laodiceans. . . . For the utter wretch Marcion did not see fit to quote this testimony from Ephesians but from Laodiceans, which is not in the Apostle. (Williams, 1:360-61)

After listing out the evidence from Marcion's edition of the NT, Epiphanius notes under Scholion/Elenchus 1 and 40 that what Marcion cites from the Epistle to the Laodiceans is actually from Ephesians (4:5-6). In his following summarizing comments, Epiphanius adds a brief note that Marcion included Laodiceans rather than Ephesians. Epiphanius thereby implicitly recognizes these two as essentially the same letter, although he does not make mention of Marcion's textual evidence for this interchange.

145. Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.17.1 [Marcion]

> Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistulam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodicenos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de titulis interest, cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit dum ad quosdam. . . . (Evans, 2:612)[13]

> By the church's truth we have it that this epistle was sent to the Ephesians, not the Laodiceans: Marcion has been at pains at some time to falsify its title, in this matter too an industrious discoverer of new ways. But the title is of no concern, since when the apostle wrote to some he wrote to all. . . . (Evans, 2:613)

Tertullian is marching through Marcion's version of the NT book by book to refute his false claims. Between 2 Thessalonians and Colossians, Tertullian treats what Marcion calls the letter to the Laodiceans, but Tertullian clarifies is the letter to the Ephesians. While he accuses Marcion of trying to be too inventive with the text, Tertullian quickly dismisses the significance of the title and passes on to the substance of the letter since Paul wrote it not exclusively to one community but to everyone. Tertullian also makes brief mention of Marcion's Laodiceans during his treatment of 2 Corinthians, preceding a paraphrase of Ephesians 2: "I forbear to treat here of another epistle to which we give the title *To the Ephesians*, but the heretics *To the Laodiceans*"

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[13] Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* (ed. and trans. E. Evans; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972).

(Praetereo hic et de alia epistula, quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodicenos [*Marc.* 5.11.12; Evans 2:585, 584]). Here also, however, Tertullian does not dwell on the title but the content of the text that follows.

Ephesians 2:4

147. Origen, *Fr. Eph.* 2:1-5; Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 2:1-5

> τὸν δὲ σύνδεσμον το<ῦ τ>όπου **ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πλούσιος ὢν ἐν ἐλέει** ἡγούμεθα ἤτοι παρεμβεβλῆσθαι μάτην ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις ἢ ὡς ὑπ' ἰδιώτου τῷ λόγῳ Παύλου μὴ τεθεωρῆσθαι παρέλκοντα. (Origen; Gregg)[14]
>
> We consider the phrase which constitutes the difficulty of the passage, 'But God who is rich in mercy', either to have been falsely inserted in the copies or not to have been perceived as redundant by Paul who was 'untrained in speech' (2 Cor. 11:6). (Heine, 119-20)
>
> Conjunctionem vero causalem in eo loco in quo ait: *Deus autem qui dives est in misericordia*, arbitramur aut ab indoctis scriptoribus additam, et vitium inolevisse paulatim, aut ab ipso Paulo, qui erat imperitus sermone, et non scientia, superflue usurpatam (II *Cor*. XI). (Jerome; PL 26:465)
>
> But we think the causal conjunction there where it says, 'but God who is rich in mercy', was either added by ignorant scribes and eventually the error was inserted, or was used unnecessarily by Paul himself, who was unskilled in speech, though not in knowledge (2 Cor. 11:6). (Heine, 120)[15]

As Origen, and thus Jerome[16], begins his commentary on Eph 2:1-5, he first feels the need to make sense of the long, complex sentence by moving what he interprets as the subject back up toward the beginning of the passage. The phrase that he finds problematic in this reading is thus the subject, "God, who is rich in mercy." Jerome's

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[14] J. A. F. Gregg, "The Commentary of Origen upon the Epistle to the Ephesians," *JTS* 3 (1902): 402-3.

[15] This entire excerpt is italicized in Heine, indicating that it parallels Origen's text.

[16] As laid out in Heine's parallel translations, Jerome follows Origen fairly closely on these verses, with a few insertions or elaborations here and there.

translation further clarifies that the problem is the conjuction, “but,” which disjoins the subject from the preceding object (“you who were dead in your trespasses,” in v. 1). Origen determines that the problematic phrase was either mistakenly placed here in the MSS, or Paul did not realize the grammatical problem since he was admittedly unlearned in speech. Jerome elaborates in his translation that the error was inserted by “ignorant scribes,” or accidentally by Paul—who may have been unskilled in speech, but not in knowledge. After this, both Origen and Jerome continue by discussing sin being the death of the soul, and the nature of trespasses versus sin.

Ephesians 3:17

149. Photius, catena

> ᾿Εν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι. τὸ ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι ἢ σφάλμα ἐστὶ καλλιγραφικόν, δέον κατ’ αἰτιατικὴν γράψαι >ἐρριζωμένους καὶ τεθεμελιωμὲνους<· ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, κατ’ ἔθος ἀρχαϊκῆς συντάξεως ἐχρήσατο ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος ἀντὶ αἰτιατικῆς μετοχικῇ εὐθείᾳ. πολὺ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω τὸ τοιοῦτον σχῆμα καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ. (Staab, 617)
>
> “Rooted in love.” The clause “rooted and grounded” is either a copyist’s error, since it should be written in the accusative case (ἐρριζωμένους καὶ τεθεμελιωμὲνους), or if not this, according to an older custom of syntax the divine Paul used the nominative participle instead of the accusative. But such a construction is often used also by those outside [of the church] and especially by Theucydides.

In this scholion, Photius is addressing a grammatical difficulty in Paul’s text. What logically should be a pair of accusative participles instead appear in the nominative case. Rather than attribute an error to Paul, Photius speculates that this error was introduced by a copyist, or that Paul was following an older grammatical rule that allowed this change. As evidence, Photius states that non-ecclesial Greek, and particularly Theucydides, also use this type of construction. He continues by explaining

alternately how the participles would be understood as true nominatives (rather than read as though accusatives), so that instead the verse would be read in this way: "in order that being rooted and grounded in love you may have the power to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and depth, and so forth" (ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι ἐξισχύσητε καταλαβέσθαι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις τί τὸ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος καὶ βάθος καὶ ἑξῆς). Photius says nothing further about the possibility of a scribal error, neither arguing that this is the best option for understanding the difficulty nor presenting any external evidence for this conjecture.

Philippians 3:3

157. Ambrose, *Spir.* 2.5.46

1: dei [θεοῦ] ℵ* A B C D[2] F G 0278[vid]. 33. 1739. 1881 𝔐 vg[mss] sy[hmg] co; Ambr [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2*: *omit*[17] 𝔓[46] vg[ms]

> Quod si quis de latinorum codicum varietate contendit, quorum aliquos perfidi falsaverunt, graecos inspiciat codices et advertet quia scriptum est πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, quod interpraetatur latinus *spiritui dei servimus*. (CSEL 79:103-4)
>
> But if someone objects because of the disagreement in the Latin manuscripts, some of which heretics have falsified, let him examine the Greek manuscripts, and notice that it is written there: οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, which is translated in Latin: 'Who serve the Spirit of God.' (FC 44:112)

Ambrose argues that the Holy Spirit is Creator, since he is to be served just as God the Creator is, based on this passage in Paul. Without stating a specific reading,

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[17] Note that Ambrose does not actually state what the variants are, only suggests that there is variation among the MSS, but the omission of "God" here would negate his use of the verse in this context. Cf. UBS, which cites in addition as evidence for this variant "(Ambrose[1/4])."

Ambrose acknowledges that there are variants in the Latin copies, which he attributes to the work of the heretics. For those who would claim he is misquoting this text, he cites the Greek MS evidence and the corresponding Latin, then continues with his discussion and concludes with a citation of Matt 4:10.

Colossians 3:15

163. Pelagius, *Comm. Col.* 3:15

1: grati [Vulgate]

2: grati[a][18]

> *Et grati estote.* Beneficiis [sci]licet Christi. In nonnullis exemplaribus habet '*grati*[*a*] *estote*': hoc est, nolite legi similare, quae uicem reddit, sed gratiae quae ignoscit etiam inimicis et pro eis dominum deprecatur. (Souter, 2:467)
>
> "And be grateful." For the benefits of Christ, no doubt. In some copies it has, "be gracious": in other words, do not desire equality under the law, which pays back in kind, but show grace, which forgives even enemies and intercedes to the Lord on their behalf.

As Pelagius goes through Colossians phrase by phrase, he discusses in 3:15a the peace of Christ, which differs from the peace of the world because Christ's peace teaches us to love our enemies. Pelagius briefly addresses v. 15b and then turns to the final phrase in v. 15c, "be grateful." He exegetes this first and then notes that some copies have an alternate reading, "be gracious." He also offers an exegesis for this variation, returning to the theme of positive treatment of our enemies in a way that is counter to the

[18] According to Souter's apparatus, the readings in the MSS of Pelagius include "grati," "gratiam," and "gratiae." Souter also notes in his introduction (1:121), "While reading *grati* with all other known authorities, he says that some copies have *gratia*. To the best of my knowledge, no other authority for *gratia* has turned up."

expectations of the world. Since there is no extant variant in the Greek, this appears to be strictly a Latin variant.

2 Thessalonians 2:3

164. Pelagius, *Comm. 2 Thess.* 2:3

1: discessio [Vulgate]

2: refuga[m][19]

> *Quoniam nisi uenerit discessio primum.* Nisi antichristus uenerit, non ueniet Christus. quod autem 'discessio' hic dicit, alibi eum 'refuga[m]' appellauit in Latinis exemplaribus: utrumque autem ita intellegendum est, quod nisi uenerit refuga [ueritatis], siue sui principatus desertor, siue discessio gentium a regno Romano, sicut in Danihelo per bestiae imaginem dicit. (Souter, 2:443)
>
> "Because unless the separation has come first." Unless the antichrist has come, Christ will not come. But whereas this says "separation," elsewhere in the Latin copies it calls him a "fugitive"; but either one is understood in this way: "unless the fugitive [from the truth] has come," whether he himself is the principal deserter, or it is a separation of the Gentiles from the dominion of Rome, just as it says in Daniel through the image of the beast [cf. Dan 7].

Pelagius is going through the passage phrase by phrase. After addressing 2 Thess 2:2b-3a, which he interprets that no one should deceive you by saying "this one is the Christ" or "that one is" (cf. Mark 13:21), he turns to the next phrase, "for (that day will not come) unless the separation (ἀποστασία) first comes." He then notes an alternate reading in the Latin MSS, "fugitive" instead of "separation (or schism)." Since there is no extant variant here in the Greek, the difference is apparently a matter of Latin translation. Pelagius does not dwell on the difference and seems to suggest that either reading could be understood in the same way, referring to the first (or chief) rebel in the

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[19] Cf. Souter (1:121): "*Discessio* is the Vulgate reading, definitely approved by Jerome himself . . . : *refuga* is the most prevalent of various Old-Latin renderings of ἀποστασία."

separation or the separation itself. After this exegesis, Pelagius passes on to the next phrase, explaining that the lawless one is the devil.

1 Timothy 4:3

168. Photius, catena

> Οὐκ ἔστι σφάλμα καλλιγραφικόν, ὡς ἐνίοις ἔδοξεν, οὐδὲ παρόραμα ἀποστολικόν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀρθῶς καὶ εἰς τὴν ᾽Ατθίδα συνήθειαν διαπεφρασμένον. ὥσπερ τὸ ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν μὴ ποιεῖν τὰ ἄτοπα, οὐ λέγει ὡς εἰς ἀτοπίαν αὐτὸν προὔτρεπεν· καὶ τὸ ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτὸν μὴ προσκρούειν φίλοις, οὐχὶ φίλοις προσκρούειν ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον· καὶ πάλιν ἐκώλυεν μὴ κλέπτειν, οὐχ ὅτι ἐπέτρεπε τὴν κλοπήν· καὶ ἐκώλυεν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀρρητοποιΐας, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπῆγεν ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης πράξεως· οὕτως καὶ ἐκώλυον ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκώλυον ἀπὸ τῆς βρώσεως. πολλὴ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω ἡ χρῆσις. (Staab, 637)[20]
>
> [“To abstain from food”] is not a copyist’s error, as it seems to some, nor an oversight by the Apostle, but is correct and shown plainly in the Attic style. Just as when someone “hinders” a person from doing inappropriate things, this is not to say that one turns that person toward inappropriateness; and when someone turns a person away from striking out at friends, it does not mean to strike out at friends but the opposite; and again, one “hinders” from stealing, not because that one turns toward theft; and one “hinders” to abstain from practicing unmentionable vice, instead of leading away from such a practice; in the same way also “they hindered to abstain from foods,” instead of “they hindered from food.” But also it is used frequently by those outside [of the church].

While there is no extant variant for this text, the fact that NA[27] includes a conjecture in the apparatus[21] illustrates the grammatical difficulty that people have found with this passage. Photius is addressing this difficulty, arguing that it is not a scribal error, as apparently some people have asserted, but that the phrasing makes perfect sense in terms of Attic Greek and especially non-ecclesiastical usage. He then cites examples

[20] Tischendorf includes an abbreviated form of this quote, which he attributes to Oecumenius; his version differs only in the first sentence: οὐκ ἔστι σφάλμα καλλιγραφικὸν τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων, ὡς ἐνίοισ ἔδοξεν, ἀλλα καὶ ὀρθῶσ εἰσ τὴν ἀττίδα συνήθειαν διαπεφρασμένον.

[21] This comment in the apparatus is in brackets: “κελευοντων απ. Toup *cj*.”

of how this verb may be used in order to emphasize that in this passage the people are not being prevented from abstaining, but the preventing reinforces the abstention. As a scholion, this commentary has no further context.

2 Timothy 4:6

170. Origen, *Hom. Num.* 10.2.1; 24.1.5 [Rufinus]

1: regressionis/reversionis[22]

2: resolutionis [ἀναλύσεως] (majority of witnesses) [Vulgate]

> Quomodo autem et filii eius auferant peccata sanctorum, id est apostoli et martyres, si potuerimus, ex Scripturis diuinis probare temptabimus. Audi primo Paulum dicentem: *Libenter enim,* inquit, *expendam et expendar pro animabus uestris* [2 Cor 12:15], et in alio loco: *Ego enim iam immolor,* inquit, *et tempus regressionis* – siue *resolutionis* – *meae instat*. Pro his ergo quibus scribebat, 'expendi' se et 'immolari' dicit Apostolus. Hostia autem cum immolatur, ad hoc immolatur ut eorum pro quibus iugulatur peccata purgentur. (SC 415:280)
>
> But how his [Jesus's] children also, i.e., the apostles and the martyrs, might remove the sins of the saints, we will attempt to prove from divine Scriptures if we can. Hear first what Paul says: "For I will gladly," he says, "expend and be expended for your lives" [2 Cor 12:15], and in another place: "For I am already being sacrificed," he says, "and the time of my return" – or "release" – draws near" [2 Tim 4:6]. Therefore on behalf of those to whom he was writing, the Apostle says he himself is "expended" and "sacrificed." But when the victim is sacrificed, it is for this reason: he is sacrificed so that the sins of those on whose behalf he is killed might be cleansed.
>
> Aut non uidetur ut *aries* aut *hircus* holocaustum se obtulisse Paulus pro populo Israel, cum dicebat: *Optabam autem ego ipse anathema esse a Christo pro fratribus meis qui sunt cognati mei secundum carnem* [Rom 9:3]? Vis autem scire quia se hostiam Paulus offerat iugulandam? Audi eum et in aliis dicentem: *Iam*

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[22] The only extant Greek variant here relates to the accompanying pronoun (ἐμῆς vs. μου) and its position. The MS evidence rather supports the hypothesis that the only variation in question is among the Latin translations of ἀναλύσεως. Tischendorf (2:878-79) notes a few of the translations used by the fathers: assumptionis (Cyprian), solutionis (Ambrosiaster), deversionis (Tertullian). Doutreleau (SC 461:160 n. 1) lists various Old Latin readings: deversionis, disiunctionis, solutionis, regressionis, repositionis. Metzger, however, deems this mention in *Hom. Num.* 24.1.5 worthy of inclusion in his list of explicit references to variants by Origen ("Explicit References," 91), which is the primary reason it is included here.

> *enim ego immolor, et tempus resolutionis* – uel, ut in graecis codicibus legimus, *reversionis – meae instat*. (SC 461:158, 160)
>
> Or does Paul not appear as though a "ram" or a "goat" who offered himself as a whole burnt offering on behalf of the people of Israel, since he was saying, "But I wish myself to be an offering[23] from Christ on behalf of my brothers who are related to me according to the flesh" [Rom 9:3]? But do you want to know why Paul would offer himself as a sacrificial victim to be killed? Hear him saying even in relation to others, "For already I am being sacrificed, and the time of my release" – or, as it reads in the Greek copies, "return" – "draws near."

Mention of this possible variant occurs twice in the Latin translation of Origen's *Homilies on Numbers*. The first instance is only in passing, in *Homily* 10; this example by itself could simply be seen as a translational variation. Origen asks how it is that believers (especially the apostles and martyrs), following the example of Jesus, are able to remove or forgive sins; he first points to Paul as an example, citing 2 Cor 12:15 and then 2 Tim 4:6. The homily cites the verse as reading "regressionis" and then offers "resolutionis" as an alternate reading.[24] Without commenting on either reading, Origen passes on to Revelation (cf. 6:9), where the martyrs take on a priestly role. It is the second citation in a later homily, however, that gives reason to think this is more than simply a difference in Latin translation.

In *Homily* 24 Origen returns to a similar theme and refers to Paul taking on the role of a sacrificial ram or goat. Origen quotes Rom 9:3 and then, again, 2 Tim 4:6, but this time with "resolutionis" as the primary reading. Rather than simply saying "or" (sive), the alternate reading (here, not "regressionis" but "reversionis") is presented with

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[23] In Latin, "anathema" can mean either "offering" or "curse." While Paul seems to intend the latter, Origen (or Rufinus) clearly reads the terms as relating to some kind of offering or sacrificial act.

[24] Doutreleau notes that in Rufinus's translation of Eusebius's *Church History* (2.22.6) he quotes 2 Tim 4:6 with "regressionis" but does not mention a variant.

more specific detail: this is the reading found in the Greek copies. But neither reading is discussed further, and Origen moves along with his discussion of the sacrificial animals.

The mention of *Greek* MSS indicates that the comment was either added or amended by the Latin translator (Rufinus).[25] The fact that for 2 Tim 4:6 Rufinus uses two different words for the variant ("regressionis" and "reversionis") suggests that he is translating the same Greek word differently in two different homilies. If Rufinus read ἀναλύσεως in Origen's homilies and understood it to mean "return" (cf. this meaning of ἀναλύω in Luke 12:36), then he may have seen a contradiction between that reading and "resolutionis" in his Latin text and therefore commented on the difference as though Origen's Greek text attested a different reading from the Latin. If this is the case, then, there is no variant but simply a misunderstanding of the Greek term on Rufinus's part.[26]

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[25] Similar comments by Rufinus in his translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans* indicate that these are often places where Origen's Greek lemma differs from Rufinus's Latin lemma, and so Rufinus must point out the difference between the version Origen is commenting on and the version Rufinus's readers have before them. See, for example, Rom 16:5 (§118, above; cf. Rom 12:11 [§113], 13 [§114] in the Catalogue).

[26] Doutreleau, in a footnote to his French translation, discusses this issue at length (SC 461:160-61 n. 1). He determines that if Rufinus added these comments about the variation, this implies that he had multiple copies of the Latin text of 2 Timothy at his disposal, or at least an annotated MS with variants listed in the margins. However, to me it appears that Rufinus would only need three things: Origen's Greek homilies, knowledge of the Vulgate reading (or, what would become the Vulgate reading), and possibly a copy of the Old Latin that read either "regressionis" or "reversionis" (the other of the two may simply be Rufinus's own translation of Origen's quotation). But Doutreleau also makes another interesting suggestion: since the MSS of the *Homily on Numbers* are generally so late, copyists of the translation may have added the Vulgate reading at some point during the text's transmission. While this is possible in *Hom. Num.* 10.2.1, the mention of the Greek copies in 24.1.5, which is consistent with Rufinus's other translations of Origen, most likely goes back to Rufinus himself.

Revelation 2:22

186. Primasius, *Comm. Apoc.* 1.2 (2:22)

1: lectum [κλίνην] (majority of witnesses) [NA, UBS, Metzger]

2: luctum[27]

> Lectus hic datur intellegi securitas delinqentium, quam sibi per inpunitatem criminum saepe flagitiosi promittunt, cum peccantes experti non fuerint praesentis irae uindictam et paenitentiam eatenus neglegunt, donec eis repentinus superueniat interitus sicut dolor parturientis et non effugient. A deo autem in hoc securitatis neglectu dari dicuntur, cum latenti quidem non tamen iniusto iudicio deseruntur. De hac securitate alibi legimus: *Auersio paruulorum interficiet eos, et prosperitas stultorum perdet illos.* Alia translatio luctum pro lecto posuit, quo aeternam miseriam designauit, nisi paenitentiam egerint ab operibus suis. (CCSL 92:34)
>
> The bed here is to be understood as that security which sinners often promise to themselves when they have committed disgraceful crimes with impunity. That is, sinners at times do not experience the vengeance of present wrath and so neglect penanace until sudden destruction comes upon them like the pain of childbirth and they are not able to escape. They are said to be given over by God to this neglectfulness that this security produces, for they are abandoned to a hidden, although not unjust, judgment. We read of such security also elsewhere: "The little ones are killed by their turning away, and the prosperity of the foolish will destroy them" [Prov 1:32]. Another translation renders "mourning" for "bed," whereby is designated the eternal misery that awaits those who do not repent from their works. (ACCS 12:36)

Discussing Revelation verse by verse, Primasius is describing the fate of those who follow the sin of "Jezebel" as he turns to 2:22. In his lemma, he cites the reading "lectum" and explains what this bed is: a restful security that sinners feel, but it is a false security that will lead to their destruction (as reinforced by Prov 1:32). Primasius then notes in passing that there is another reading, "luctum" instead of "lectum." The difference of only one letter in Latin (and the lack of a corresponding variant in Greek) suggests that this is strictly a Latin variant. While Primasius refers to it as an alternate

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[27] Cf. UBS, which lists Primasius as the sole evidence for this reading: "*luctum* mss[acc. to Primasius]."

translation, it is more likely a variant (a scribal misreading or error) based on the translation “lectum.” Primasius offers a brief exegesis of this alternate reading, but then he quickly passes on to v. 23 and the fate of the “children of Jezebel.”

APPENDIX A

COMPARISON OF LISTS OF EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO VARIANTS

The initial list of references to variant readings was made by Eberhard Nestle in his introduction to textual criticism.[1] Nestle explains about his list: "Where only one passage is given, it will be found in full in Tischendorf. Passages in which the word ἀντίγραφον itself or its synonyms (codex, exemplar, etc.) does not occur, but where express mention is yet made of readings found in manuscripts, are given in brackets" (i.e., parentheses).[2] Bruce Metzger later expanded the list, following the same format of author's name with a series of scriptural references.[3] In addition to Tischendorf's

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[1] The list first appeared in the 2nd edition as an appendix (E. Nestle, *Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament* [2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1899], 266-67; English: *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* [trans. W. Edie; 1901; repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2001], 340-42), and subsequently in the 3rd edition (1909) as part of the text (pp. 165-67). The 2nd edition German and English lists are largely the same, although a couple of corrections appear in the English version. The 3rd edition (German only) incorporates some of the same corrections and adds a handful of new references. In the table below, differences between the lists are explained in the footnotes; notes and comments reproduced from Nestle are given from the English edition wherever they have not changed significantly in the 3rd German edition.

[2] Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism*, 340. By "Tischendorf," Nestle means *Novum Testamentum Graece* (ed. by C. Tischendorf; 2 vols.; 8th ed. critica maior; 1872; repr. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck, 1965). This is the same edition referred to by Metzger and throughout the notes below. As is made clear by Nestle's comments, his primary interest in this list is noting where manuscripts (ἀντίγραφα) are mentioned. Metzger therefore shifted the focus slightly by looking instead for references to variants.

[3] B. M. Metzger, "St. Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament" in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 188-90. Metzger only mentions Nestle's 2nd edition (188 n. 1), since this is where the list first appeared, but his inclusion of references from the 3rd edition suggests that is the version of Nestle's list that he used.

apparatus, Metzger also identifies UBS as a source, as well as further references "culled from a variety of editions, which are in every case briefly identified."[4]

The table below reproduces Nestle's and Metzger's lists, preserving their notations (parentheses, footnotes, etc.), although the format of the Scripture citations and the spelling of a few names have been updated. The final column in the table represents the texts included in the Catalogue and Additional Texts, above. Where citations in Nestle's or Metzger's lists have not been included in the present study, the reason is explained in the notes. As discussed in several of the notes, Nestle often gives incorrect verse numbers, which Metzger then repeats, requiring some textual criticism on the lists themselves.

TABLE A.1

COMPARATIVE LIST OF NESTLE, METZGER, AND CATALOGUE

Author	**Nestle**	**Metzger**	**Donaldson**
Acacius		1 Cor 15:51	1 Cor 15:51
Adamantius	(*i.e.* Origen) see Jerome	(*ap.* Jerome) Matt 24:36	(see Jerome, Matt 24:36)
Ambrose		Matt 24:36	Matt 24:36
	Luke 7:35	Luke 7:35	Luke 7:35
		Luke 11:13	Luke 11:13
			John 3:6
	Gal 4:8	Gal 4:8	Gal 4:8
		Phil 3:3	Phil 3:3
		Heb 2:9[5]	

[4] Metzger, "St. Jerome's Explicit References," 188. The edition of UBS he used could not have been more recent than the 3rd edition, published in 1975 (the 3rd ed. corrected came out in 1983). Some of the references that he culled from the apparatus have since disappeared from the 4th rev. ed. (1993).

[5] I have not yet located this citation. Ambrose does cite the variant "sine deo" (χωρὶς θεοῦ) in *De Fide* 2.8.63-65; 5.8.106, as noted by Tischendorf ("Amb$^{fide\ 2,482}$ et^{5,570}"), but Ambrose does not here

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
Pseudo-Ambrose		Rev 11:2[6]	
Ambrosiaster			Acts 15:29
	Rom 5:14[7]	Rom 5:14	Rom 5:14
	(Rom 12:13)	Rom 12:11[8]	Rom 12:11
	1 Cor 5:3	1 Cor 5:3[9]	2 Cor 5:3
	Gal 2:5	Gal 2:5	Gal 2:5
Ammonius			John 19:14//Mark 15:25
			Acts 14:26 (see also Pseudo-Oecumenius)
Anastasius	Matt 27:18	Matt 27:18	(see Origen, Matt 27:17)
Anastasius Abbot			Luke 22:43-44
Andrew of Caesarea	Rev 3:7	Rev 3:7	Rev 3:7
		Rev 15:6	Rev 15:6
Anonymous scholia[10]	Matt 2:18	Matt 2:18[11]	
	Matt 20:28	Matt 20:28[12]	

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mention any alternate readings. The apparatus for the 2nd and 3rd editions of UBS reads "mss acc. to Ambrose," but this is no longer present in the 4th edition.

[6] I have not yet located this citation. The apparatus for the 2nd and 3rd editions of UBS reads "mss acc. to Ps-Ambrose," but this is no longer present in the 4th edition.

[7] Nestle includes the comment: "the quotation should be corrected in accordance with Haussleiter, *Forschungen*, iv. 32."

[8] Metzger corrected the 12:13 in Nestle's list to 12:11; the heading at the top of the page in Tischendorf where this text is cited reads "12,13" (i.e., Rom 12:13). This seems to be a common mistake in Nestle's list that he gives the verse heading at the top of Tischendorf's page rather than the correct verse number from the apparatus.

[9] Metzger has copied Nestle's incorrect number. The reference is from 2 Corinthians, not 1 Corinthians.

[10] This is a challenging category since many of these comments (typically gleaned from the apparatus of Tischendorf) ride the line between anonymous excerpts from other works, on the one hand, and scribal or scholarly notes added to the margin (i.e., a form of textual apparatus) on the other. While marginal notes are valuable, they are venturing beyond the scope of the present study, and the list would be much longer if they were to be collected comprehensively. Therefore, most of these are not included in the Catalogue.

[11] See the footnote for Origen, Matt 2:18, below.

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
(Anonymous scholia, cont.)	(Matt 22:12)[13]	Matt 22:12[14]	
	Mark 11:13	Mark 11:13[15]	
	Luke 16:19[16]	Luke 16:19	
	Luke 22:43f.	Luke 22:43f.[17]	
	Luke 24:13	Luke 24:13[18]	
	John 1:29	John 1:29	(see John Chrysostom, John 1:28)[19]
	John 7:53	John 7:53[20]	

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[12] After citing various Latin witnesses to a Western addition at the end of the verse, Tischendorf notes: "Accedit syr[p cod mg] (est cod. 1. Asseman., vide Adler. ad h. l.) cum d maxime conveniens, addita insuper hac nota: *Haec quidem in exemplis antiquis in Lc tantum leguntur capite* 53 (i.e. Lc 14,7 sqq); *inveniuntur autem in exx. graecis* (an potius *in exemplo graeco?*) *hoc loco*; *quapropter hic etiam a nobis adiecta sunt*."

[13] This reference does not appear in the 2[nd] edition, but was added in parentheses in the English edition, and without the parentheses in the 3[rd] edition.

[14] Tischendorf includes the note: "item testatur schol codicum[4] ap Matthaei: εν τισι κειται το· εταιρε."

[15] The verse should be Mark 11:11 (11:13 is from the top of the page in Tischendorf [1:337]). In Tischendorf's apparatus, after the evidence for τῆς ὥρας, it reads: "Addunt in mg 40 et 72 (sunt codices cum scholiis): αναξιων οντων των ιουδαιων, εν αλλοισ αντιγραφοισ."

[16] Nestle adds in parentheses: "giving the name of the Rich Man as Ninive, *i.e.*, Phinees; see Rendel Harris in the *Expositor*, March 1900" [the reference to Harris does not appear in the German editions]. Tischendorf's note reads: "Cf scholiastam ibidem [cdd 36. 37]: ευρον δε τινεσ και του πλουσιου εν τισιν αντιγραφοισ τουνομα νινευησ λεγομενον."

[17]Tischendorf quotes "schol[34]": ιστεον οτι τα περι των θρομβων τινα των αντιγραφων ουκ εχουσιν· πλην μαρτυρει τη χρησει ταυτη ωσ κειμενη και διονυσ. αρεοπαγ. και γενναδιοσ ο κωνστ. και επιφανιοσ ο κυπρ. και ετεροι πατερεσ αγιοι ("Know that some copies do not have the comments concerning the drops [of blood]; indeed Dionysius the Areopagite, Gennadius of Constantinople, Epiphanius of Cyprus, and other holy fathers testify to this event being in the text"). Cf. Epiphanius, Luke 22:43-44, below.

[18] Under the evidence for ἑξήκοντα, Tischendorf cites: "schol[34]et[194] (ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα λεκτέον· οὕτωσ γὰρ τὰ ἀκριβῆ περιέχει καὶ ἡ ὠριγένουσ [34. om] τῆσ ἀληθείασ βεβαίωσισ)."

[19] The correct verse is John 1:28 (the header for this page in Tischendorf [1:750] reads 1:29). This scholion is simply a paraphrase of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on John*, so I have included it in the Catalogue as a subentry under Chrysostom on John 1:28.

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
(Anonymous scholia, cont.)	John 21:25	John 21:25[21]	
	Rom 8:24	Rom 8:24[22]	
Apollinaris			Matt 5:22
			Matt 6:1 (see also Origen)
			Mark 6:8
	John 7:53[23]		
Apolloniades	Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 5.28[24]		
Arethas of Caesarea		Rom 3:9[25]	Rom 3:9
	Rev 1:2	Rev 1:2	Rev 1:2
	Rev 3:7	Rev 3:7	Rev 3:7
Asclepiades	Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 5.28		

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[20] Tischendorf quotes a number of marginal notes that discuss the MS evidence for the *pericope adulterae* (1:828).

[21] Choosing to omit v. 25 from his text in agreement with א*, Tischendorf cites with the evidence an extended scholion (followed by an addition to this scholion in cod. 36): "Praeterea conferenda sunt complurium codicum scholia, ut quod Matthaeius ex 237. protulit: ἄλλοσ δὲ προσθήκην εἶναί φησι (137. al mu ἄλλοι et φασιν) τοῦτο, τεθεικότοσ μὲν αὐτὸ τινὸσ τῶν φιλοπόνων ἔξωθεν (137. al mu add ἐν παρενθήκῃ), εἰσ παράστασιν τοῦ πλείονα εἶναι τῶν γεγραμμένων τὰ γεγενημένα παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου θαύματα, κατὰ μέροσ δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πρώτου τυχὸν ἔσωθεν (137. etc τὰ ὑπὸ τ. κυρ. γεγενημένα θαυμαστά· καταγέντοσ δὲ ἔσωθεν ἀγνοίᾳ τυχὸν τοῦ πρώτου γραφέωσ, ὑπὸ τινὸσ τῶν παλαιῶν μὲν οὐκ ἀκριβῶν δέ,) καὶ μέροσ τῆσ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου γραφῆσ γενόμενον (137. etc γεγονότοσ), διὰ (137. etc ὅπερ διὰ) πάντων τῶν εὐαγγελίων ὁ χρόνοσ καὶ ἡ συνήθεια φέρεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν."

[22] Tischendorf includes the marginal note from 1739 (here "47^{mg}"), το παλαιον ουτωσ εχει. There are a number of such references in that MS, particularly in Romans (see K. Lake, J. de Zwaan, and M. S. Enslin, "Codex 1739," in *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts* [ed. K. Lake and S. New; Harvard Theological Studies 17; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932], 141-219, esp. 199-219).

[23] Nestle comments after the name (which he spells "Apollinarius") and before the reference: "possibly mentioned in the scholia in Codex Marchalianus (see Swete's *Septuagint*, iii. p. viii)." Since Nestle only cites one verse here, presumably this is what the comment is referring to. I have followed Metzger in omitting this reference from the present study.

[24] The Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* references were corrected from 5.18 in Nestle's 2nd edition to 5.28 in the English translation and in the 3rd edition (see also Asclepiades, Hermophilus, Theodotus).

[25] Metzger includes in parentheses: "K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, 1933, p. 654."

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	**Nestle**	**Metzger**	**Donaldson**
Athanasius[26]	Matt 5:22	Matt 5:22	(see Pseudo-Athanasius)
		Rom 8:11	(see Pseudo-Athanasius)
	2 Thess 2:9	2 Thess 2:9	2 Thess 2:8[27]
Pseudo-Athanasius			Matt 5:22
			Rom 8:11 (see also Didymus)
Augustine		Matt 5:22	Matt 5:22
		Matt 5:32	Matt 5:32
		Matt 6:4	Matt 6:4
		Matt 10:3	Matt 10:3
	Matt 27:9	Matt 27:9	Matt 27:9
			Mark 8:10
	Luke 3:22	Luke 3:22	Luke 3:22
			John 7:53–8:11
		John 16:13	John 16:13
	Rom 5:14	Rom 5:14	Rom 5:14
		Rom 7:18	Rom 7:18
	(Rom 13:14)	Rom 13:14[28]	
	1 Cor 15:5	1 Cor 15:5	1 Cor 15:5
		1 Cor 15:51	1 Cor 15:51
	Phil 3:3	Phil 3:3	Phil 3:3
		Col 2:18	Col 2:18

[26] Nestle includes in parentheses "also Pseudo-Athanasius," but he does not distinguish which citations may be genuine or spurious. Metzger simply includes all three entries under "Athanasius." At the end of the entry for Athanasius, Nestle adds: "for his mention of the πυκτία made for the Emperor Constans, see above, p. 181, note, and p. 184; Zahn's *Forschungen*, iii. 100, *GK*. i. 73."

[27] This is a rare text that I could locate only in a quotation from Tischendorf's apparatus and thus may very well also belong in the category of Pseudo-Athanasius. The correct verse is 2 Thess 2:8 (the heading at the top of the page in Tischendorf for this part of the apparatus is 2:9 [2:772]).

[28] Tischendorf cites *Doctr. chr.* 4.20(40), but here Augustine is simply discussing the word order of the Latin translation relative to the Greek and its euphony. He makes no mention of a variant. Nestle's use of parentheses for this entry indicates that the discussion does not explicitly refer to manuscripts, only to various readings. If Nestle (and Metzger) is referring to a different discussion by Augustine, I have not yet been able to locate it.

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	**Nestle**	**Metzger**	**Donaldson**
Basil the Great[29]	Luke 22:36	Luke 22:36	Luke 22:36
	Eph 1:1	Eph 1:1	Eph 1:1
Bede[30]	Acts, *passim*		
		Acts 3:27	
		Acts 4:10	
		Acts 5:3	
		Acts 7:17	
		Acts 8:37	
		Acts 10:32	
		Acts 13:20	
		Acts 13:33	
		Acts 14:19	
		Acts 15:24	
		Acts 17:26	
		Acts 18:17	
		Acts 21:25	
		Acts 22:9	
		Acts 24:6-8	
Cassiodorus		Gal 2:5[31]	
Chronicon Paschale	John 19:14[32]	John 19:14	John 19:14//Mark 15:25
John Chrysostom	John 1:28	John 1:28	John 1:28
			Eph 5:14

[29] Nestle adds at the end of this entry: "Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. 345." The German (both 2nd and 3rd ed.) then includes a footnote, which in the English edition was moved into the text of the introduction to this appendix. The note reads in part, "I may mention here that a certain 'Basilius diaconus' was the possessor of a magnificent Bible, the cover of the first part of which was used for Codex Syrohexaplaris Ambrosianus. . . ."

[30] See Appendix B, below. Rather than including Bede's numerous citations in the Catalogue or Additional Texts, I have treated him separately.

[31] I have not yet located this citation.

[32] In the English edition, Nestle includes in parentheses "see above, p. 30," referring to where he quotes the Greek of this passage from the Chronicon.

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
Apostolic Constitutions	[John 7:53ff.][33]		
Claudius of Turin		Gal 2:5	(see Jerome, Gal 2:5)[34]
Cyril of Alexandria			Matt 4:17 (see also Origen)
			John 12:28
Didymus			John 7:53–8:11
			Romans 8:11 (see also Pseudo-Athanasius)
		1 Cor 15:51	1 Cor 15:51
			1 Cor 15:52 (see also Jerome)
	2 Cor 1:1	2 Cor 1:1	2 Cor 1:1
			Titus 3:10
Diodore of Tarsus			Heb 2:9
Ephraem	Luke 1:35[35]	Luke 1:35	(see Ephraem Graecus)
Ephraem Graecus			Luke 1:35
Epiphanius	Matt 1:8	Matt 1:8[36]	
			Matt 1:11
	Matt 2:3[37]	Matt 2:3	

[33] This entry was added in Nestle's 3rd edition. I have included it in the same location as in Nestle's list but under the English name. The verse reference is in brackets because Nestle does not actually include it. The full entry reads: "Constitutiones apostolorum 2, 24 am Rand des Kodex y bei Lagarde (nicht in Funks Ausgabe!) περὶ τῆς μοιχαλίδος, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ κατὰ ᾿Ιωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀντιγράφοις κεῖται" (3rd ed., p. 166). This appears to be a marginal comment rather than an original part of the text, so I have not included it in the Catalogue.

[34] This part of Claudius's commentary on Galatians is simply an extended quotation of Jerome (with a little rearranging and some Augustine thrown in), so it is not a separate discussion of the variants.

[35] Nestle added this entry in the 3rd edition.

[36] At Matt 1:8, Tischendorf notes "Item Epiph[1,7] et[anc 59]" (see *Panarion* 1.7.9; *Ancoratus* 59.4). Epiphanius does attest a longer reading in these two passages, but he does not discuss the variant until he addresses the end of the passage at v. 11 (*Panarion* 1.8.1-4). Since Nestle does not include 1:11 (where Tischendorf does quote Epiphanius referring to the MSS), I suspect he incorrectly got 1:8 ("1,8" in the German) from the reference to Epiphanius, which in Tischendorf reads "Epiph[1,8]"; Metzger is just duplicating Nestle's error.

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
(Epiphanius, cont.)	Matt 2:11[38]	Matt 2:11[39]	Matt 2:11
	Matt 8:28	Matt 8:28	Matt 8:28 parr.
			Luke 2:4; John 7:42
	Luke 8:26	Luke 8:26	(see Matt 8:28 parr.)
	Luke 19:41	Luke 19:41	(see Luke 22:43-44)
	Luke 22:43f.[40]	Luke 22:42f.	Luke 22:43-44
	John 1:28	John 1:28	John 1:28
			John 19:14//Mark 15:25
	Eph 1:1	Eph 1:1	Eph 1:1 (see also Marcion)
			2 Tim 4:10
Eusebius	Matt 13:35	Matt 13:35	Matt 13:35
	Matt 27:9	Matt 27:9	Matt 27:9
	Mark 1:2	Mark 1:2	Mark 1:2
	Mark 16:3	Mark 16:3[41]	
	Mark 16:9ff.	Mark 16:8ff.	Mark 16:9ff.
	John 19:14	John 19:14	John 19:14//Mark 15:25
Euthalius	Jude 25	Jude 25[42]	

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[37] I have not yet located this citation. Nestle added it to his list in the 3rd edition, followed by the notation in parentheses: "I, 122 Di."

[38] Nestle includes a snippet of Epiphanius's text and the reference, "See Westcott and Hort, 'Notes,' *in loco*."

[39] Metzger includes in parentheses: "Westcott-Hort, volume II *ad loc.*"

[40] Nestle had this reference in parentheses in the 2nd edition but removed the parentheses in the 3rd.

[41] I did not find a separate discussion by Eusebius on variants in this verse, only for the ending of Mark in general. I suspect that Nestle is referring to the notes on 16:2 in Tischendorf (the heading for the page [1:402] is 16:3), and may be mistaking one of the two quotations of the Severus text (Ps-Nyss in Tischendorf) as Eusebius due to the proximity of the references.

[42] Nestle (and then Metzger) is apparently referring to Tischendorf's quotation of Euthalius in the apparatus on the subscription for Jude. After citing Euthalius's data on the sections and stichoi for Jude and the catholic epistles, Tischendorf notes, "Denique haec nota additur: ἀντεβλήθη δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸ βιβλίον πρὸσ τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα τῆσ ἐν καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκησ εὐσεβίου τοῦ παμφίλου" (Finally, this note is added: "The text of Acts and the Catholic Epistles was compared to the most accurate copies of the library of Eusebius Pamphilus in Caesarea"; cf. PG 85:692).

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
Euthymius Zigabenus		Matt 7:24	Matt 7:24
	(Mark 16:9)	Mark 16:9[43]	
	John 7:53	John 7:53	John 7:53–8:11
Gregory of Nyssa[44]	Mark 16:2	Mark 16:2	(see Severus)
	Mark 16:9	Mark 16:9	(see Severus)
Hermophilus	Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 5.28		
Hesychius[45]	Mark 16:2		(see Severus)
	Mark 16:9		(see Severus)
Hieronymus (see Jerome)			
Hilary		Luke 22:42	Luke 22:43-44
Irenaeus	Rev 13:18[46]	Rev 13:18	Rev 13:18
Isidore	Heb 9:17	Heb 9:17	Heb 9:17
Jerome[47]		Matt 5:22	Matt 5:22
		Matt 6:25	Matt 6:25
		Matt 11:19	Matt 11:19
		Matt 11:23	Matt 11:23
	Matt 13:35	Matt 13:35	Matt 13:35

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[43] The same note about the ending of Mark, regarding what text is found in previous commentaries (rather than in the MSS), is found in the commentaries on this Gospel by both Euthymius Zigabenus (PG 129:845) and Theophylact (PG 123:677 n. 90): φασὶν δέ τινες τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἐνταῦθα συμπληροῦσθαι τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον· τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς προσθήκην εἶναι μεταγενέστεραν. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἑρμηνεῦσαι, μηδὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λυμαινομένην (this version follows the corrections made by J. Hug, *La Finale de L'Évangile de Marc* [Paris: J. Gabalda, 1978], 197); "Some of the Commentators state that here [v. 8] the Gospel according to Mark finishes; and that what follows is a spurious addition. This portion we must also interpret, however, since there is nothing in it prejudicial to the truth" (J. W. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verse of the Gospel according to S. Mark* [Oxford: J. Parker, 1871], 69).

[44] Nestle adds "Pseudo-" in parentheses. In the 3rd edition, he has added "Severus" after a dash, along with a footnote that references, on the question of authorship, "Abbé Martin in Pitra's Analecta IV, 1884 p. VII n. 3" and M.-A. Kugener, "Une homélie de Sévère d'Antioche attribuée à Grégoire de Nysse et à Hésychius de Jérusalem," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 3 (1898): 435-51.

[45] See the note for Gregory of Nyssa, above. In the 3rd edition, Nestle adds "Severus" after a dash, along with a call number to the same footnote as for Gregory of Nyssa.

[46] Nestle's English edition includes in parentheses "see above, *in loco*." Nestle discusses this verse and quotes from Irenaeus on p. 334.

[47] Since Metzger's list is an addendum to his article on Jerome, he does not include Jerome in his list. The references given here are gleaned from the body of the article.

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
(Jerome, cont.)		Matt 16:2-3	Matt 16:2b-3
	Matt 21:31	Matt 21:31	Matt 21:31
	Matt 24:37[48]	Matt 24:36	Matt 24:36
			Matt 27:9
	Mark 3:17[49]		
	Mark 16:9	Mark 16:9	Mark 16:9ff.
		Mark 16:14	Mark 16:14
			Luke 1:46 (see also Origen)
	Luke 2:33		Luke 2:33
		Luke 14:27	Luke 14:27
	(Luke 18:30)[50]		
	Luke 22:43f.	Luke 22:43f.	Luke 22:43-44
			John 4:5
	John 7:53	John 7:53–8:11	John 7:53–8:11
			John 19:14//Mark 15:25
	Acts 15:29	Acts 15:29	Acts 15:29
		Rom 12:11	Rom 12:11
		Rom 16:25-27	Rom 16:25-27[51]
	1 Cor 9:5	1 Cor 9:5	1 Cor 9:5

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[48] Nestle updated this reference from 24:17 in the 2nd edition to 24:37 in the 3rd. However, 24:36 is the correct reference. Tischendorf quotes Jerome's comments on p. 1:164 (continuing the apparatus on v. 36 from p. 163); the heading for this page is 24:37.

[49] Tischendorf quotes from Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 10:4 (as evidence for the name "boanerges" [cf. SC 242: 188]), and *Comm. Dan*. 1:7 (5.625); in the latter, Jerome says that while most consider the name to be "boanerges," it should more correctly be read "banereem" (or "benereem"; the MSS of Jerome offer a variety of spellings here) (quod non, ut plerique putant, 'boanerges' sed emendatius legitur 'banereem'; CCSL 75A:780). Although Jerome's language here is similar to his discussion of variants ("plurique" and "emendatius," at a glance, recall his comments about MSS), Jerome is simply offering a more accurate transliteration from the Hebrew name for "sons of thunder," not attesting a variant or even suggesting a correction to the text of Mark (see also Jerome, *Nom. hebr.* 66.9).

[50] On the reading πολλαπλασίονα, Tischendorf quotes two passages from Jerome (*Jov.* 2.19, 26) where he discusses the Synoptic parallels for this verse. Jovinian apparently knew of one instance where the reward was "sevenfold," but Jerome corrects him that Matthew and Mark read "a hundredfold," and Luke reads "much more," so that Jovinian either has falsified the text or is mistaken (sciat in Matthaeo et in Marco, apostolis, qui universa sua dimiserant, centuplum repromissum. In Evangelio autem Lucae multo plura, id est, πολὺ πλείονα, et penitus in nullo Evangelio pro *centum* scriptum esse *septem*; seque aut falsarium, aut imperitiae reum teneri [PL 23:323]).

[51] At Rom 14:23, UBS[4] includes in the apparatus, "mss acc. to Jerome vid"; however, this is referring to the evidence for Rom 16:25-27 and so Rom 14:23 is not listed as a separate entry in this study.

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
(Jerome, cont.)		1 Cor 13:3	1 Cor 13:3
		1 Cor 15:51	1 Cor 15:51
			1 Cor 15:52 (see also Didymus)
	Gal 2:5	Gal 2:5	Gal 2:5
	Gal 3:1	Gal 3:1	Gal 3:1
			Gal 5:19-21
			Eph 1:6
			Eph 2:4 (see also Origen)
	Eph 3:14	Eph 3:14	Eph 3:14
			Eph 4:19
			Eph 4:29
			Eph 5:14
		Eph 5:22	Eph 5:22
		Col 2:18	Col 2:18
		1 Tim 1:15; 3:1[52]	1 Tim 1:15
	1 Tim 5:19	1 Tim 5:19	1 Tim 5:19
			Titus 3:15
	Heb 2:10[53]	Heb 2:9	Heb 2:9
Pseudo-Jerome			1 Cor 15:51
Macarius Magnes[54]		Mark 15:34	(see Porphyry)
		John 12:31	John 12:31
Macedonius[55]	Rom 8:11	(*ap*. Athanasius) Rom 8:11	(see Pseudo-Athanasius)
Marcion	see Epiphanius, Eph 1:1	(*ap*. Epiphanius) Eph 1:1	(see Epiphanius; Tertullian)

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[52] Metzger includes 3:1 because it has a similar variant ("St. Jerome's Explicit References," 186); however, Jerome cites enough of the verse to identify it as 1:15, not 3:1.

[53] The correct verse is Heb 2:9; Tischendorf lists no variants for Heb 2:10. While he gives the quotation from Jerome (in the apparatus for Heb 2:9) on p. 2:786 (where the heading reads 2:11), the majority of the apparatus for 2:9 is on the previous page (2:785), where the heading reads 2:10. This appears to be why Nestle includes Heb 2:10 several times in his list, all of which should be Heb 2:9.

[54] While Nestle does not include Macarius in his list, he does mention a reference to MSS by Macarius on p. 167 of the 3rd edition, which Metzger then incorporates into his list. Metzger includes an extended footnote, giving both examples, "in view of the rarity of the only edition of the Greek text of Macarius Magnes' *Apocriticus* (that of C. Blondel, published at Paris in 1876)"; a more recent Greek edition and modern translations are now available (see the Catalogue and Bibliography).

[55] After the name, Nestle includes in parentheses: "see Draeseke, *ThStKr*., 1890, 12."

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	**Nestle**	**Metzger**	**Donaldson**
Marius Victorinus			Gal 2:5
Maximinus	1 Cor 15:47	1 Cor 15:47[56]	
Maximus of Turin		1 Cor 15:51[57]	
Pseudo-Oecumenius[58]	Acts 14:26	Acts 14:26	Acts 14:26 (see also Ammonius)
			1 Cor 15:5
			Phil 3:14 (see also Origen)
			Heb 2:9
		2 Pet 1:1	2 Pet 1:1
Origen	Matt 2:18	Matt 2:18[59]	
		Matt 4:17	Matt 4:17 (see also Cyril of Alexandria)
			Matt 5:22
			Matt 5:32
			Matt 5:45

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[56] Augustine (*Maxim.* 15.5) cites Maximinus as reading this verse with the variant "Dominus" (ὁ κύριος): "And, of course, these words escaped your attention, where Paul himself says, *The first man, Adam, was earthly from the earth; the second man, the Lord, as heavenly, came from heaven*" (Nec hoc sane pervenit ad te, quod ait ipse Paulus: *Primus homo Adam de terra terrenus, secundus homo Dominus de coelo coelestis advenit* [PL 42:725]; see Augustine, *Arianism and Other Heresies* [trans. R. Teske; Hyde Park, NY: New City, 1995], 204). However, neither Augustine nor Maximinus here indicates this is a variant or shows awareness of another reading (there is only the implicit judgment of Maximinus that Augustine has misquoted the verse). Since this is the only mention of Maximinus on this page in Tischendorf, if Nestle intended a different variant, or a different verse, I am unsure what it was supposed to be.

[57] Tischendorf reads "cdd ap Maxim[2,329]" but I have not yet located this citation. The apparatus for the 2nd and 3rd editions of UBS reads "Greek mss[acc. to Maximus-Turin]" and "mss[acc. to . . . Maximus-Turin]," but these are no longer present in the 4th edition.

[58] Nestle simply has "Oecumenius"; Metzger reads "Oecumenius (pseudo)." All of the works mentioned here are thought to belong to the same author, whether an Oecumenius (6th or 10th cent.) or someone else (see Appendix C).

[59] As cited by Tischendorf, the catenae on Matthew (see Cramer, 1:18) include a discussion of a variant here by Origen, but the variant is in Jer 38:15 LXX (31:15 Eng) (the verse quoted in Matt 2:18). The variant Origen mentions does not appear to have been carried over into the citation in the copies of Matthew. Origen's comment reads, "Ramah indicates a high place, which is why in some copies of the prophet is written, 'A voice was heard in the height,' and so forth" (῾Ραμὰ σημαίνει τόπον ὑψηλὸν, ὅθεν ἔν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων τοῦ προφήτου γέγραπται, "φωνὴ ἐν τῇ ὑψηλῇ ἠκούσθη," καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς). Tischendorf also cites an additional scholion, which may be dependent on Origen's comment: διὸ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοισ ἀντιγράφοισ φω. ἐν ὑψ. κεῖται.

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
(Origen, cont.)		Matt 6:1	Matt 6:1 (see also Apollinaris)
	Matt 8:28	Matt 8:28	Matt 8:28 parr.
	Matt 16:20	Matt 16:20	Matt 16:20
	Matt 18:1	Matt 18:1	Matt 18:1
	(Matt 19:19)	Matt 19:19	Matt 19:19
		Matt 21:5	Matt 21:5
			Matt 21:9
	(Matt 21:15)	Matt 21:15	Matt 21:9, 15
		Matt 24:19	Matt 24:19
			Matt 26:63//Mark 14:61
	(Matt 27:9)		Matt 27:9
	Matt 27:16ff.[60]	Matt 27:16ff.	Matt 27:17
	Mark 2:14	Mark 2:14	Mark 2:14
		Mark 3:18	Mark 3:18
	Luke 1:46	Luke 1:46	(see Jerome)
		Luke 8:26-37	(see Matt 8:28 parr.)
		Luke 9:48	Luke 9:48
		Luke 14:19	Luke 14:19
		Luke 23:45	Luke 23:45
		John 1:3-4	John 1:4
	John 1:28	John 1:28	John 1:28
		John 3:34	John 3:34
		Rom 3:5	Rom 3:5
	Rom 4:3	Rom 4:3	Rom 4:3
		Rom 5:14	Rom 5:14
		Rom 7:6	Rom 7:6 (Rufinus?)
			Rom 8:22 (Rufinus?)
		Rom 12:11	(see Rufinus)
		Rom 12:13	(see Rufinus)
		Rom 14:23	(see Rom 16:25-27)[61]

[60] In the German edition, Nestle includes in parentheses “Zahn, E. [*Einleitung*] 2, 294,” while in the English it reads “see above, *in loco*”; on p. 259 of the English edition, Nestle cites Zahn and briefly discusses the evidence of Origen, Tatian, and Jerome for this variant.

[61] At Rom 14:23, UBS^4 includes in the apparatus, “mss $^{\text{acc. to Origen lat}}$” for two different readings; however, this is referring to the evidence for Rom 16:25-27 and so Rom 14:23 is not listed as a separate entry in the present study.

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
(Origen, cont.)			(see Rufinus, Rom 16:5)
	Rom 16:23[62]	Rom 16:23	Rom 16:25-27
	Eph 2:4	Eph 2:4[63]	Eph 2:4 (see also Jerome)
			Phil 3:14 (see also Pseudo-Oecumenius)
	Col 2:15	Col 2:15	(see Rufinus)
		2 Tim 4:6	2 Tim 4:6
		Heb 2:9	Heb 2:9
Pelagius[64]		Rom 12:13	Rom 12:13
		1 Cor 10:22	1 Cor 10:22
		1 Cor 15:51	(see Pseudo-Jerome)
		Col 3:15	Col 3:15
		2 Thess 2:3	2 Thess 2:3
Peter of Laodicea[65]		Matt 5:44	Matt 5:44
		Matt 6:13	Matt 6:13
		Matt 27:16	Matt 27:17
Photius			Eph 3:17
			1 Tim 4:3
Pierius	see Jerome	(*ap.* Jerome) Matt 26:36[66]	(see Jerome, Matt 24:36)
Porphyry(?)		see Macarius Magnes[67]	Mark 15:34

[62] Nestle adds in parentheses: "see Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. 276, 285." I believe the variant he intends here it the position of the Romans doxology.

[63] Nestle added this reference in the 3rd edition. He includes in parentheses "JThSt 03, 403," which Metzger also includes, as "*JTS*, iii (1902), p. 403." This refers to the collection of scholia from Origen's *Commentary on Ephesians* compiled by J. A. F. Gregg.

[64] Metzger includes in parentheses: "Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, volume 1, 120f."

[65] Metzger includes in parentheses: "edited by G. Heinrici, 1908."

[66] Metzger uses roman numerals for chapter numbers and has a typo here, xxvi instead of xxiv.

[67] Metzger also refers the reader to the previous footnote, in which he says: "The variant at Mk xv.34 . . . is attributed by Macarius to an anti-Christian opponent, thought by modern scholars to have been Porphyry. . . ."

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	Nestle	Metzger	Donaldson
Primasius		Rev 2:22	Rev 2:22
			Rev 4:11
Rufinus[68]			Rom 7:6 (see Origen)
			Rom 8:22 (see Origen)
			Rom 12:11 (see also Origen)
			Rom 12:13 (see also Origen)
			Rom 16:5 (see also Origen)
			1 Cor 15:51
			Col 2:15 (see also Origen)
Severus			Mark 16:2
	Mark 16:9	Mark 16:9	Mark 16:9ff.
Socrates	1 John 4:3	1 John 4:3	1 John 4:3
Tertullian			Eph 1:1 (see also Marcion)
Theodore (of Mopsuestia or Heraclea)			Matt 5:4-5
Theodore of Mopsuestia	Rom 12:13[69]	Rom 12:13	Rom 12:13
			1 Cor 11:10
			Eph 5:14[70]

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[68] Throughout Rufinus's translations of Origen's commentaries, especially the *Commentary on Romans*, variants are mentioned, but the references often specifically note the Latin MSS or cite a variant predominantly from the Latin tradition. Therefore, it seems that a number of these discussions were inserted by Rufinus when comparing his Latin versions against Origen's lemma. However, the attribution remains ambiguous because Rufinus does not distinguish his own words from those of Origen, and because Origen's own discussion of a variant may sometimes lie behind Rufinus's augmentation with Latin evidence. Thus, the best evidence we have to corroborate Origen's own mentions of variants is in the Greek fragments of the *Commentary on Romans* and in the margin of MS 1739.

[69] Nestle added this reference in the 3rd edition.

[70] Along with this text, which is known only from the Latin translation, H. B. Swete also mentions two other discussions that should be considered for inclusion in this list (*Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii* [2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1880, 1882], 1:lxx-lxxi). At Eph 3:5 (1:159), Theodore reads φρατρία for πατριά, a variant that is not attested elsewhere and

TABLE A.1 (Continued)

Author	**Nestle**	**Metzger**	**Donaldson**
(Theodore of Mopsuestia, cont.)	Heb 2:10	Heb 2:10[71]	Heb 2:9
Theodoret		Rom 8:11[72]	
	Rom 16:3	Rom 16:3	Rom 16:3
			Eph 5:14
Theodotus	Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 5.28[73]		
Theophylact[74]			John 19:14//Mark 15:25
	2 Thess 3:14	2 Thess 3:14	2 Thess 3:14
	Heb 2:10	Heb 2:10[75]	Heb 2:9
	Heb 10:1	Heb 10:1	Heb 10:1
Titus of Bostra			Matt 8:28 parr.
Victor of Antioch	Mark 16:9	Mark 16:9[76]	Mark 16:9ff.
Victor of Vita		1 John 5:7-8[77]	
Victorinus of Rome		Gal 2:5	(see Marius Victorinus)

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appears to be his own conjecture. But another reading does have textual support, in Phil 1:1 (1:198-200) where Theodore reads σὺν ἐπισκόποις instead of συνεπισκόποις.

[71] See the note above for Jerome, Heb 2:10 (Nestle's list).

[72] Theodoret's discussion of this verse does include a variant, but he does not show awareness of multiple readings (see his *Comm. Rom.* 8:11). The apparatus for the 2nd and 3rd editions of UBS reads "mss acc. to Theodoret," but this is no longer present in the 4th edition.

[73] See the discussion in Chapter 1, above.

[74] See also the footnote above for Euthymius Zigabenus, Mark 16:9ff.

[75] See the note above for Jerome, Heb 2:10 (Nestle's list).

[76] In the 3rd edition, Nestle added in parentheses, "Burgon, Last verses 288," which Metzger also includes, as "J. W. Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, p. 288 [American edition, p. 368]."

[77] Victor of Vita (in Africa, late 5th cent.) does cite the variant, "There are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one" (tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in caelo, pater, uerbum et spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt; *Hist. Van. Pers.* 2.82), but he does not describe it as a variant nor does he attest any alternate readings. See CSEL 7:60; *Victor of Vita: History of the Vandal Persecution* (trans. J. Moorhead; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), 56. The apparatus for the 2nd and 3rd editions of UBS reads "mss acc. to Victor-Vita," but this is no longer present in the 4th edition.

APPENDIX B

THE VENERABLE BEDE ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Bede is a special case, and thus is treated here separately, for two reasons: (1) he is from the 8th century and is therefore later than the time period under discussion in Volume I of this study; (2) most of his evidence relates to variants within the Latin tradition rather than Greek variants. So, while Bede is an excellent source of information about the type of textual scholarship being done in the centuries between Jerome and Erasmus and about variants in the Latin tradition, his evidence is secondary to the purposes of the present study. However, because the intent of the Catalogue is to cast the net as widely as possibly, that net would have a gaping hole if Bede were overlooked entirely.

Bede's discussions of variants in the book of Acts come from two key sources: his *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (*Expositio actuum apostolorum*), and his subsequent *Retractions on the Acts of the Apostles* (*Retractatio in actus apostolorum*). The second was published at a much later date, perhaps as much as twenty years later, and thus incorporated the accumulation of his learning over the intervening decades.[1] In the *Commentary*, Bede occasionally refers to differences between versions or MSS, at times comparing the Greek and the Latin; in the *Retractions*, he makes such comments

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[1] M. L. W. Laistner dates the *Commentary* to between 709 and 716, and the *Retractions* to after 731 ("Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 16 [1933]: 79).

with great frequency. For the *Commentary*, Bede apparently relied primarily on a diglot MS (Codex Laudianus = E), with Greek and Latin columns, for his knowledge of the Greek text.[2] Therefore, when he comments on the reading in "the Greek," he is appealing to the evidence of this single text rather than to multiple Greek witnesses. Many of the variants he notes (in both the *Commentary* and *Retractions*) are pluses in his Greek MS, representing traces of the interpolated Western text in E. Although by the time of the *Retractions* it is also possible that Bede is applying knowledge of one or more additional Greek texts that he has encountered in the ensuing years, his continued citations of E, as well as his citations of the Old Latin text from that same MS, show that even at a later date he was heavily dependent on that single (Greek) MS.[3] His testimony is thus primarily to a single Greek witness rather than to the range of variants within the Greek tradition, although his Latin witnesses often preserve variants also known in the Greek. Even so, his chief concern is to compare the Greek tradition as a unified whole against the variations in the Latin.

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[2] *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. L. T. Martin; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1989), xix. On Codex Laudianus (Bodleian Library MS Laudianus Graecus 35), see the description and bibliography in B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Paleography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 96; and M. T. Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West*, vol. 1, *The Medieval Book* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 22-23.

[3] M. L. W. Laistner, "The Latin Versions of Acts Known to the Venerable Bede," *HTR* 30 (1937): 43. While Laistner's interest is in the Latin MSS, he does say about the Greek MSS known to Bede that besides the readings from E, there are at least "two undoubted translations of phrases not found in E gr. But the data available are insufficient to define more precisely the character of this second Greek manuscript of Acts" (p. 49). G. H. Brown is likely simply repeating Laistner's conclusions when he says that Bede worked with "at least three Latin and two Greek versions of Acts" (*Bede the Venerable* [Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987], 58). Perhaps more telling is the great absence of comparable comments about MSS in Bede's other NT commentaries, suggesting that this single bilingual copy of Acts was his only real access to the Greek NT. This absence is due in part (or in whole) to the fact that, by his own admission, his other NT commentaries are mostly a patchwork or abridgement of the work of earlier writers, such as Jerome and Augustine (see W. F. Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 597-1066*, vol. 1, *597-740* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967], 110-13, 117-19). Bede's knowledge of Greek readings beyond those attested in E could therefore easily come from earlier commentaries rather than direct exposure to other Greek NT MSS.

The citations in Bede's two works on Acts are too numerous to give each passage in full here (Nestle was wise to list for Bede simply "Acts, *passim*").[4] The following table organizes the material by where the passages may be found, and offers limited data to suggest the textual value of each discussion (e.g., how they are used in the apparatus of UBS[4], whether they attest to Greek or only Latin readings, when the variant is too rare to appear in the modern critical editions, etc.).[5] Entries followed by an asterisk (*) appear in Metzger's list.[6] Where a verse is given more than once, it refers to multiple variants in that verse, listed in the order they occur in the verse. Entries in parentheses ( ) in columns 1 or 2 refer to variants that occur only in the Latin tradition, although the Greek is cited as an alternate reading (supporting one of the Latin variants); because this study is primarily focused on Greek variants, there may be additional discussions of strictly Latin variants that are not included in this list. References in brackets [ ] are secondary discussions in the *Retractions* of the variant previously noted in the *Commentary*.

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[4] See the comparative chart in Appendix A, above.

[5] However, it is not entirely clear to me why the distinction is sometimes made in the UBS[4] apparatus that Bede refers to "Greek mss" rather than "Greek ms" (in the 2nd ed. of the UBS text, the majority of references to Bede, including all of the verses listed below that are included in that edition, read simply "Greek acc. to Bede"). Bede typically introduces the Greek reading with some variation of "in Graeco habetur," and he uses the singular for "Greek" (without any addition of "codices," as he does with the Latin) in all of the examples listed here that are given as "mss" in UBS[4] (see Acts 2:24; 10:30; 17:26; 21:25; 22:9; 24:6-8). He reserves the term "codices" for the Latin, while the Greek is referred to as the "Graecum exemplar." Only twice does he refer to the Greek in the plural ("Graeca exemplaria"). One place is at Acts 2:34 (*Retractions*), where Bede specifies that he means both the Greek of this verse and the Greek of the Psalm (109:1 LXX), which the verse is quoting. The other occasion is at Acts 4:32 (*Retractions*), where the "Greek exemplars" are compared to "our copies" (et hic in Graecis exemplaribus, quod nostri codices non habent, adiunctum est. . . [CCSL 121:125]).

[6] See the comparative chart in Appendix A, above.

TABLE B.1

BEDE'S EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO VARIANTS IN ACTS

Commentary	***Retractions***	**UBS apparatus**
	(Acts 1:10)	
	Acts 1:13	
	Acts 1:23	
	(Acts 2:1)	
	(Acts 2:4)	
	Acts 2:23	
	Acts 2:24	Greek mss$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$
	Acts 2:30	Greek ms$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$
	Acts 2:33	
	(Acts 2:34)	
	Acts 2:37	
	Acts 2:41	
	Acts 2:47-3:1	Greek ms$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$
	Acts 3:20	
	Acts 3:22[7]	(Greek ms$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$)
	Acts 4:8	Greek ms$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$
	Acts 4:10*	Greek ms$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$
	(Acts 4:21)	
	Acts 4:31	
	Acts 4:32	
Acts 5:3*		Greek ms$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$
	Acts 5:17	Greek ms$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$
	Acts 5:24	
	Acts 5:28	Greek ms$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$
	Acts 5:30[8]	
	Acts 5:38	
	Acts 5:39	Greek ms$^{\text{acc. to Bede}}$
	Acts 6:8	
	Acts 6:10	
	Acts 7:1	

[7] Metzger lists Acts 3:27, which is apparently a typo; he possibly intended 3:22 instead.

[8] This variant does not appear in either UBS^{4} or NA^{27}: τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ is added after ἤγειρεν (cf. Swanson, which lists E as the only witness for the reading).

TABLE B.1 (Continued)

Commentary	*Retractions*	UBS apparatus
	Acts 7:16[9]	
Acts 7:16		Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
	Acts 7:17*	Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
	Acts 7:31-33[10]	
Acts 8:37*		Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
	Acts 9:12	Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
Acts 9:25		
	Acts 9:26[11]	
Acts 10:30	[Acts 10:30]	Greek and Latin mss[acc. to Bede]
	Acts 10:32*	Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
	Acts 10:33	
	Acts 10:41	
	(Acts 12:8)	
	Acts 13:6	
	Acts 13:8	
	Acts 13:20*	Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
	Acts 13:25[12]	
	Acts 13:26[13]	
	Acts 13:33*	Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
Acts 13:33*		Latin mss[acc. to Bede]
	Acts 13:41[14]	

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[9] Not in UBS^4 or NA^{27}: ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν is added after ʼΑβραάμ (cf. Swanson, which lists E as the only witness).

[10] The variant from the Greek as described by Bede is a conflation of the statements by the Lord in vv. 32 and 33. As listed in Swanson (but not UBS^4 or NA^{27}) as the reading in E alone, Bede's Greek reads ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα instead of κυρίου at the end of v. 31: "In Graeco ita scriptum est: Facta est uox de caelo dicens ad eum: Ego sum deus patrum tuorum, --- solue calciamenta de pedibus tuis; locus enim in quo stas terra sancta est."

[11] This variant does not appear in either UBS^4 or NA^{27}: after Παραγενόμενος δὲ, E and a handful of witnesses (945 1243 1837 2492) add ὁ Παῦλος (cf. ὁ Σαῦλος in L P Ψ and a number of minuscules; see Swanson).

[12] Not in UBS^4 or NA^{27}: ὁ Χριστός is added after εἰμὶ ἐγώ (cf. Swanson, which lists E and 88 as the only witnesses for the reading).

[13] Not in UBS^4 or NA^{27}: ἀκούσατε is added after τὸν θεόν (cf. Swanson, which lists E as the only witness).

[14] Not in UBS^4 or NA^{27}: ἀκούσαται appears in place of ἴδετε (cf. Swanson, which lists E as the only witness).

TABLE B.1 (Continued)

Commentary	***Retractions***	**UBS apparatus**
Acts 13:43[15]		
	Acts 13:43	Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
Acts 13:52		
Acts 14:2		
Acts 14:7		
Acts 14:10		
	Acts 14:19* (v. 18 Vulgate)	
	Acts 15:24*	(Greek ms[acc. to Bede])
	Acts 15:26	
	Acts 15:33[16]	
	Acts 17:6[17]	
	Acts 17:26*	Greek mss[acc. to Bede]
Acts 18:4		
	Acts 18:17*	Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
(Acts 18:18)	[Acts 18:18]	
	Acts 18:28	
Acts 19:14		
	Acts 20:4	Greek ms[acc. to Bede]
	Acts 21:25*	Greek mss[acc. to Bede]
Acts 21:27		
	(Acts 21:39)	
	Acts 22:3	
	Acts 22:7	
	Acts 22:9*	Greek mss[acc. to Bede]
	(Acts 22:17)	
Acts 23:6		
Acts 24:6-8*[18]		mss[acc. to Bede]
	(Acts 24:17)	
	Acts 27:5	
	Acts 28:2	

[15] Not in UBS^4 or NA^{27}: τὸν θεόν is added after σεβομένων (cf. Swanson, which lists E as the only witness).

[16] Not in UBS^4 or NA^{27}: along with H L P Textus Receptus and a number of minuscules, E reads ἀποστόλους instead of ἀποστείλαντας αὐτούς (see Swanson).

[17] Not in UBS^4 or NA^{27}: ἄλλους is added before ἀδελφούς (cf. Swanson, which lists E as the only witness for the reading).

[18] Bede states that the longer reading appears in “some of our manuscripts” (i.e., the Latin) and in “the Greek” (In hoc loco quidam nostri codices aliquot uersus habent qui in Graeco ita leguntur. . .).

Based on this list of variant discussions, a few cursory conclusions can be drawn about Bede's intentions and his skill as a textual critic. As noted above, Bede's primary concern was to elucidate the Latin tradition (particularly the variations between the Old Latin and the Vulgate, or between various translations) based on a comparison with "the Greek." He explains his purposes in offering comments on the textual evidence: "We have provided these things concerning translation so that you will not be astonished at the variety of manuscripts and fail to recognize which [version] is the more true."[19] As seen in Chapter 1 (in Vol. I) with the treatment of the Hebrew by the Greek and Latin fathers, Bede also appeals to the Greek as a monolithic authority, showing only minimal discernment about the variety among Greek texts. He appeals to the Greek both for textual matters (usually noting where the Greek has an addition, or a different wording) and for clarity of translation and word meaning (especially with names and proper nouns that have been transliterated or changed their significance in the Latin).

In terms of judging between various readings, Bede is sometimes content merely to note and explain the divergent readings, although he clearly sees the Greek as a superior external witness. In addition to MS evidence, he also refers to patristic witnesses for various readings (e.g., Augustine and Jerome for Acts 18:18).[20] Lawrence Martin points out that Bede shows an awareness of potential distortions produced by textual transmission and translation, and that he offers perceptive comments about scribal

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[19] "Haec de translatione posuimus ne codicum uarietate stupefactus quid uerius sit ignores" (Bede, *Comm. Acts* 14:10; trans. Martin, *Venerable Bede,* 126).

[20] See Laistner, "Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar," 84-87, for a list of the patristic sources Bede cites, as well as an evaluation of his text-critical skills in the *Retractions.*

errors and their causes.[21] Regarding Bede's textual criticism in general (not exclusive to his work on Acts), Charles Plummer writes:

> Throughout his theological works, Bede shows himself fully sensible of the importance of textual criticism. Not only does he continually compare . . . the Vulgate and the Itala together, but he constantly notes the readings of various manuscripts, pointing out which are faulty, though in one case he certainly allows his critical judgement to be determined by what he believes to be the exigences of the allegorical interpretation. He gives instances of corruption in MSS., and notes the special tendency of scribes to mistakes in copying numerals.[22]

M. Laistner and Paul Meyvaert also offer praise for Bede's text-critical prowess.[23] Meyvaert points out, though, that in spite of Bede's alertness to textual difficulties, he typically quotes a faulty text with all of its errors rather than correcting it. Meyvaert calls this "the enigma of a man who had a shrewd sense of textual problems failing to bring it to bear on material replete with such problems."[24] While he may be right in attributing this to Bede's reverence for the authority of the text in question, it is also possible that Bede was following an earlier tradition among textual scholars: namely, textual conservatism—preferring to note corrections in the margins or in a commentary (such as throughout his two works on Acts) rather than delete anything from the text itself (see Chap. 1). Whether Bede's skill as a text critic would meet the standards of modern

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[21] Martin, *Venerable Bede*, xix. See also P. Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," in *Famulus Christi: Essays in the Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (ed. G. Bonner; London: SPCK, 1976), 49.

[22] C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam ecclesiasticam gentis Anglorum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), 1:liv-lvi (the footnotes provide examples of the various text-critical comments by Bede, applied to both the OT and NT).

[23] Laistner, "Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar," 86-87; Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," 48-51. Meyvaert refers to the *Retractions* as "the high point of [Bede's] reflections on problems of textual criticism and . . . a work of great maturity" (50). It is also noteworthy that Bede's work on Acts, in which the majority of his text-critical comments appear, reflects his own original scholarship to a greater degree than his other NT commentaries (see n. 3, above).

[24] Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," 51.

textual criticism is a question that will not be answered here, but it is clear that Bede, like his patristic predecessors, was keenly aware of the potential confusion or misunderstanding caused by the differences in the MS tradition and therefore the need to address them for the sake of the his audience.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF FATHERS AND WORKS

The following is a listing of authors and texts included in the Catalogue and Additional Texts, divided by Greek and Latin.[1] Authors for whom the works in the Catalogue are strictly spurious are not included in this list since the biographical information is irrelevant. The information in each entry is very general and highly selective, attempting merely to provide a basic overview of date and geography and whatever details may be pertinent for the texts that appear in the Catalogue and for the general discussion of that author in Volume I. The bibliography at the end of each entry includes a handful of standard dictionaries and overviews that provide fuller treatment of that father's works as well as additional bibliography.[2]

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[1] See K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (trans. E. F. Rhodes; 2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), for similar lists of all Greek (pp. 173-84) and Latin (pp. 215-20) fathers cited in NA4/UBS27.

[2] A note on the sources: there are any number of modern biographies or dictionaries and encyclopedias of the early church that may be consulted for information on individual church fathers. The sources listed here are primarily those that provide good bibliography, especially of critical editions for the writings of each author. In the case of some of the older works, such as Quasten and Altaner, while more recent scholarship is available, their bibliographies or the range of individual fathers they cover are often more inclusive and thus they are still relied upon in the more recent works. Also note that for CPG and CPL, the numbers given here refer to page numbers rather than paragraph numbers.

1. Greek

Acacius of Caesarea (d. 366)

Successor of Eusebius as bishop of Caesarea in 340. He was blind in one eye and earned the nickname "one-eyed bishop." Among his works is *Miscellaneous Questions,* apparently addressing biblical issues, but no complete writing of his is extant. The *Questions* is cited at length in Jerome's *Ep.* 119, and some scholia have survived from his commentary on Romans. (CPG 2:275-76; Kannengiesser, 2:774-75; ODCC 8-9; Quasten, 3:345-46)

Ammonius (5th or 6th cent.)

A priest in Alexandria, or possibly a monk of the Nitrian desert mentioned by Palladius (*Hist. Laus.* 10-11). Wrote commentaries on Daniel, John, and Acts, preserved only as fragments in the catenae, although some of the scholia on John are spurious. (Altaner, 328; CPG 3:66-68; Kannengiesser, 2:931)

Anastasius Abbot of Sinai (d. ca. 700)

An abbot at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, known for his apologetic writings. His *Viae Dux* offers instructions on how to oppose heretics. (Altaner, 633-34; CPG 3:453-62; ODCC 58)

Andrew (Andreas) of Caesarea (fl. ca. 563-614)

Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, known for his commentary on Revelation. (Altaner, 625; CPG 3:395-96; Kannengiesser, 2:938-39)

Apollinaris (Apollinarius) (ca. 310-390)

Born at Laodicea in Syria, where he later returned to become bishop of the Nicene community. In Antioch, he taught Jerome and befriended Athanasius as a staunch opponent of the Arians, but later Apollinaris's own Christology fell into disrepute and was condemned. According to Jerome, Apollinaris wrote innumerable commentaries, but they are extant today only in the catenae. Some letters are preserved in Basil's correspondence, and some condemned dogmatic works survive attributed to other authors. (Altaner, 363-65; CPG 2:301-16; Drobner, 262-65; Kannengiesser, 2:721-24; ODCC 86-87; Quasten, 3:377-84)

Arethas of Caesarea (ca. 850-944)

Born in Peloponnesus, served as a cleric in Constantinople, then as bishop in Caesarea in Cappadocia. Commissioned a collection of early apologetic works that serves as the primary source for these texts today. Produced a revised version of Andrew's commentary on Revelation. (Aland, 176; cf. Altaner, 625; Quasten, 1:188)

Athanasius (ca. 298-373)

Born and trained in Alexandria, where he was later appointed bishop. Chief opponent of Arianism and staunch defender of the Nicene faith. Many of his writings are apologetic or dogmatic, including a number of spurious works preserved in his name. There are no extant biblical commentaries by Athanasius, but some exegetical comments are preserved in the catenae. (Altaner, 312-23; CPG 2:12-60; Drobner, 246-53; Kannengiesser, 2:708-21; ODCC 121; Quasten, 3:20-79)

Basil (ca. 330-379)

Born at Caesarea in Cappadocia into an eminent Christian family, as grandson of Macrina the Elder and brother of Gregory of Nyssa, Peter of Sebaste, and Macrina the Younger. Educated in Caesarea, Constantinople, and Athens and well-traveled before returning home to the cenobitic life. He founded a number of monasteries, became a priest, then bishop of Caesarea. Along with homilies and dogmatic works, he may have prepared the *Philocalia* (an anthology of Origen's works) and two monastic rules together with Gregory of Nazianzus. *Against Eunomius*, his earliest dogmatic work, was originally published in three books (the two books added later are spurious) in refutation of an extreme form of Arianism. His *Asceticon* underwent a number of revisions, circulating in multiple editions even during Basil's lifetime. (Altaner, 335-45; CPG 2:140-78; Drobner, 267-77; Kannengiesser, 2:740-47; ODCC 167-68; Quasten, 3:204-36)

Chronicon Paschale (7th cent.)

Probably composed in Constantinople. An anonymous chronicle covering creation to A.D. 629/30. (Altaner, 284; CPG 3:496; ODCC 342-43)

Chrysostom, John (ca. 350-407)

Born at Antioch. Educated in theology by Diodore of Tarsus. Became a priest in Antioch and was known as a great orator. Reluctantly became Patriarch of Constantinople but earned both religious and political opposition and was exiled to

Cucusus in Lesser Armenia. The majority of his works are homilies, including those on John and Ephesians. (Altaner, 373-87; CPG 2:491-672; Drobner, 327-37; Kannengiesser, 2:783-98; ODCC 345-46; Quasten, 3:424-82)

Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444)

Born and trained in Alexandria, where he succeeded his uncle Theophilus as patriarch. Vehemently opposed Nestorius. Although strongly polemical, he produced primarily exegetical works, including a commentary on John in twelve books, of which books seven and eight (John 10:18-12:48) are extant only in the catenae. (Altaner, 328-34; CPG 3:1-57; Drobner, 461-64, 468-72; Kannengiesser [article by Robert L. Wilken], 2:840-69; ODCC 446-47; Quasten, 3:116-43)

Didymus (ca. 313-398)

Born at Alexandria and blind from childhood, which prevented him from being formally educated or taught to read. Nevertheless, he was very learned; one of the last teachers at the catechetical school, where he taught Rufinus and possibly Jerome. His defense of Origen earned him posthumous condemnation, and as a result, his commentaries are preserved only in the catenae, although some of these attributions have been called into question.[3] Some spurious works by other authors have also been attributed to him, including the seven Pseudo-Athanasian Dialogues. (Altaner, 324-25; CPG 2:104-11; Kannengiesser, 2:725-29; ODCC 483; Quasten, 3:85-100)

[3] Cf. Bart D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (SBLNTGF 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 22-29. For his study of the Gospels, the only works extant in Greek that Ehrman deems reliable are the OT commentaries found among the Tura papyri.

Diodore of Tarsus (d. by 394)

Born and educated in Antioch, where he was teacher to John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia. A great apologist, exiled for a time by the emperor Valens before returning to become bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia in 378. After his death, he was accused of being the originator of Nestorianism, leading to his official condemnation. Because of this, his copious works are extant only in fragments or under the name of other authors. An example of the latter is his *Commentary on Psalms*, which has survived (at least in part) both anonymously and as a work of Anastasius III of Nicea.[4] (Altaner, 369-70; CPG 2:342-44; Drobner, 319-21; Kannengiesser, 2:780-83; ODCC 486-87; Quasten, 3:397-401)

Ephraem Graecus (after 4th cent. [Byzantine])

After the lifetime of Ephrem the Syrian (306-373), a number of works were composed in Greek by monastic admirers, often in styles or touching on themes similar to Ephrem, and attributed to the Syrian himself. (CPG 2:366-468; Kannengiesser [article by Sidney H. Griffith], 2:1395-96)[5]

Epiphanius (ca. 315-403)

Born near Eleutheropolis in Palestine, where he later founded a monastery after spending some time in Egypt. Elected bishop of Salamis (on Cyprus). Ardent anti-

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[4] On the authenticity of this "sole surviving work," see *Diodore of Tarsus: Commentary on Psalms 1-51* (trans. R. C. Hill; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), xii-xiv.

[5] See also Archimandrite Ephrem, "Saint Ephrem the Syrian: Ascetical and Other Writings Extant Only in Greek," http://www.anastasis.org.uk/ephrem.htm (accessed September 19, 2009), who notes how little scholarly work has been done on this corpus of Greek texts.

Origenist, accredited with changing Jerome's mind against Origen. His two major extant works, the *Ancoratus* and *Panarion*, were written to provide an orthodox foundation in contrast to the many heresies of his day. (Altaner, 365-68; CPG 2:324-41; Drobner, 303-7; Kannengiesser, 2:735-39; ODCC 556-57; Quasten 3:384-96)

Eusebius (ca. 263-339)

Born and educated at Caesarea in Palestine, where he later became bishop. Surnamed Pamphili for his spiritual father Pamphilus, who carried on the academic tradition founded there by Origen. Recognized chiefly for his historical works, but wrote a variety of other compositions, including the apologetic series *Praeparatio Evangelica* and *Demonstratio Evangelica*, *Quaestiones ad Marinum* (a book of Gospel questions and solutions, available only in fragments and an epitome), and voluminous OT commentaries such as the *Commentary on Psalms* (extant in extensive excerpts). (Altaner, 263-72; CPG 2:262-75; Drobner, 223-35; Kannengiesser, 2:675-83; ODCC 577-78; Quasten, 3:309-45)

Euthalius (4th cent.)

A grammarian and possibly churchman who edited the epistles and Acts into verse lines and chapter numbers. (Aland, 178; CPG 2:301; ODCC 580)

Euthymius Zigabenus (12th cent.)

Monk in Constantinople. Wrote a heresiology and commentaries on the Gospels and epistles. (Aland, 178-79; ODCC 580-81)

Irenaeus (2nd cent.)

Born in Asia Minor, possibly Smyrna. Moved to Lyons and acted as an emissary to Rome, then later became bishop. His primary extant work is *Against Heresies*. (Altaner, 150-58; CPG 1:110-18; Drobner, 117-22; Kannengiesser, 1:477-506; ODCC 851-52; Quasten, 1:287-313)

Isidore of Pelusium (ca. 360-435)

Born in Alexandria, later joined a monastic community at Pelusium on the Nile and is thus regarded as a desert father. Known mostly for his learned exegetical letters, following the Antiochene school, written between AD 393 and 433. (Altaner, 308-9; CPG 3:82-84; Drobner, 526-29; Kannengiesser, 2:870-72; ODCC 856; Quasten, 3:180-85)

Macarius Magnes (fl. ca. 400)

Bishop of Magnesia. His only extant work is the *Apocriticus*, an apologetic work against a Neoplatonist philosopher (possibly Porphyry), known primarily from fragments available in two late MSS, both of which are no longer extant. (Altaner, 388; CPG 3:190-92; ODCC 1021; Quasten, 3:486-88)

Marcion (ca. 85-160)

A wealthy ship owner from Sinope, in Pontus. In Rome, he became a generous donor to the church but was excommunicated for his heretical beliefs and set out to found his own church. Best known for his modified canon of Scripture (before an official

canon had been established by the wider church). While his version of the Scriptures is not extant, a number of fathers comment on its content, including Tertullian, Origen, and Epiphanius. (Altaner, 143-44; CPG 1:65-66; Drobner, 112-14; Kannengiesser, 1:450-53; ODCC 1040; Quasten, 1:268-72)

Oecumenius (6^{th} cent., or 10^{th} cent.)

In the 6^{th} century, Oecumenius was a Monophysite from Asia Minor connected to Severus of Antioch. His primary extant work is a commentary on Revelation, which Andrew of Caesarea quotes anonymously in his own commentary. A number of scholia on the Pauline epistles, as well as Acts and the catholic epistles, are also preserved under the name Oecumenius, usually identified as the 10^{th}-century bishop of Trikka. However, it remains uncertain which Oecumenius, if either, authored these fragments. (Altaner, 625; CPG 3:394-95; Kannengiesser, 2:937; ODCC 1183)

Origen (ca. 185-253)

Born and educated in Alexandria. After the departure of Clement, Origen was possibly appointed head of the catechetical school. When tensions with his bishop led to his excommunication in Alexandria, he moved to Caesarea in Palestine. His imprisonment under Decius eventually resulted in his death at Tyre. A prolific translator and exegete, Origen's allegorical exegesis and innovative theology with its Platonic underpinnings led to controversy soon after his death that continued for three centuries until he was officially condemned for heretical doctrines. Because of this, a number of his works exist only in fragments or in translation. (Altaner, 223-35; CPG

1:141-86; Drobner, 136-48; Kannengiesser [article by Hermann J. Vogt], 1:536-74; ODCC 1200-1202; Quasten, 2:37-101)

Peter of Laodicea (7th-8th cent.)

Author of a short *Exposition on the Lord's Prayer*, to whom a series of scholia on the Gospels are also attributed. (Aland, 182; Altaner, 626; ODCC 1274-75)

Porphyry (ca. 232-303)

A Neoplatonist philosopher from Tyre, who studied in Athens, visited the East (including Alexandria), and eventually landed in Sicily and Rome. In his attacks against Christianity, he pointed out discrepancies in the Scriptures, which are preserved in apologies countering his accusations. He also was accomplished in editing (such as his edition of the works of Plotinus) and Homeric questions. (Aland, 182; ODCC 1318-19)

Severus (ca. 465-538)

Patriarch of Antioch (512-518), but moved to Alexandria when deposed as a Monophysite. His copious writings are preserved mainly in Syriac. His *Homily* 77, however, was also transmitted under the names of Gregory of Nyssa and Hesychius of Jerusalem and thus was preserved in Greek. (Altaner, 610-12; CPG 3:327-45; Kannengiesser, 2:924-27; ODCC 1501-2)

Socrates (ca. 380-450)

Born at Constantinople. Lawyer and historian, published a church history, in two editions, intended as a sequel to Eusebius' history, covering AD 305 to 439. (Altaner, 274; CPG 3:165-67; ODCC 1524; Quasten, 3:532-34)

Theodore of Heraclea (d. 355)

Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace. His commentaries are preserved primarily among the catenae. (Aland, 183; CPG 2:284-86; Kannengiesser, 2:780)

Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428)

Born and educated in Antioch, a fellow student of Diodore of Tarsus along with John Chrysostom. In 392 he was consecrated bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. After his death, he, along with Diodore, was condemned a Nestorian heretic. Many of his authentic works have therefore survived best in the Nestorian and eastern traditions. Of his numerous biblical commentaries (primarily on the NT), those on Romans, 1-2 Corinthians, and Hebrews are extant only in catenae, while his commentaries on other Pauline epistles were preserved in Latin attributed to Ambrose. (Altaner, 370-73; CPG 2:344-61; Drobner, 321-27; Kannengiesser [article by Manlio Simonetti], 2:799-828; ODCC 1609-10; Quasten, 3:401-23)

Theodoret (ca. 393-460)

Born at Antioch. Reluctantly became bishop of nearby Cyrus (Cyrrhus) but served there for thirty-five years. Opposed Cyril of Alexandria and supported Nestorius but

later agreed to anathematize him. Wrote works in a variety of genres, including a number of OT commentaries, but the commentary on the Pauline epistles is his only extant NT commentary. (Altaner, 396-99; CPG 3:201-19; Drobner, 472-78; Kannengiesser [article by Jean-Noël Guinot], 2:885-918; ODCC 1611-12; Quasten, 3:536-54)

Theophylact (b. ca. 1050/60, d. after 1125)

From Euboea. Studied under Michael Psellos in Constantinople, then later became Archbishop of Ohrid (Bulgaria). Wrote both OT and NT commentaries. (Aland, 183-84; ODCC 1618)

Titus of Bostra (d. before 378)

Bishop of Bostra, capital of the Roman province of Arabia. Wrote extensively against the Manichees. The *Homilies on Luke* questionably attributed to Titus is extant only in fragments but may contain excerpts from Titus, among other authors. (Altaner, 360-61; CPG 2:286-88; Kannengiesser, 2:775-76; ODCC 1639)

Victor of Antioch (fl. ca. 500)

Known only among the catenae for both OT and NT. Some MSS attribute to him a commentary on Mark, but the work referred to is actually a collection of scholia from John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew*, as well as Origen on Matthew and Cyril of Alexandria and Titus of Bostra on Luke, of which Victor is likely the compiler. (Altaner, 623; CPG 3:255-56; ODCC 1705)

2. Latin

Ambrose (ca. 339-397)

Born at Trier (Treves), moved to Rome in his youth. Studied to be a lawyer and was sent to Milan as *consularis*, but was elected bishop within a few years, despite his status as a catechumen. After assuming office, he studied Scripture under Simplicianus. Remained politically active and influential throughout his career. Contended with Arianism, which is especially apparent among his abundant writings. Among his dogmatic works are *De fide ad Gratianum*, its sequel *De Spiritu Sancto*, and *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, all of which build upon the work of the Greek fathers to present orthodoxy in the face of Arianism. Numerous exegetical writings on the OT remain, but of his NT commentaries, only his exposition on Luke is extant. (Altaner, 443-57; CPL 39-52; Drobner, 307-18; Kannengiesser, 2:1045-80; ODCC 49-50; Quasten, 4:144-80)

Ambrosiaster (4th cent.)

Author of a series of commentaries on the Pauline epistles falsely attributed to Ambrose, which may have been originally anonymous. Assigned to Rome during the tenure of Pope Damasus (366-384). Commonly also considered the author of *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, circulated as a work of Augustine. (Altaner, 457-58; CPL 58-59; Kannengiesser, 2:1081-87; Quasten, 4:180-90)

Augustine (354-430)

Born at Thagaste in Numidia, educated there and at Madaura and Carthage. Taught in

Thagaste and Carthage, then at Rome. Became a professor in Milan, where he was persuaded away from Manicheism by the sermons of Ambrose. After his baptism by Ambrose, he set out for home, but his mother, Monica, took ill and died in Ostia. He returned to Rome and then eventually to Thagaste. Ordained a priest in Hippo, and then bishop. Combatted Donatism and Pelagianism, and carried on a thorny correspondence with Jerome. Wrote copious works in a number of genres. (Altaner, 487-534; CPL 97-135; Drobner, 386-453; Kannengiesser, 2:1149-1233; ODCC 129-32; Quasten, 4:342-462)

Bede (672-735)

Benedictine monk and religious educator in England. Wrote a local church history and commentaries on the Gospels, Acts, and Revelation. (Aland, 216; CPL 444-57; ODCC 178-79; Kannengiesser, 2:1475-95)

Claudius of Turin (d. ca. 827)

Born in Spain, bishop of Turin. His exegetical writings quote extensively from Augustine. His works include commentaries on Genesis and Kings circulating under the name of Eucherius of Lyons. (Aland, 216; ODCC 362)

Hilary (ca. 315-367)

Born in Poitiers and later elected bishop there. Resisted the Arian metropolitan Saturninus and thus was exiled to Phrygia in Asia Minor for three years, where he wrote his major theological work, *De Trinitate*. The Arians had him sent back to

Gaul, where the anti-Arian cause eventually prevailed. (CPL 161-67; Altaner, 423-28; Drobner, 253-61; Kannengiesser, 2:997-1010; Quasten, 4:36-61; ODCC 774)

Jerome (ca. 347-419)

Born Eusebius Hieronymus at Strido (Stridonia) in Dalmatia. Educated in Rome, where he was a student alongside Rufinus, and then soon thereafter spent time with Rufinus and other friends in Aquileia. After heading off for Jerusalem, Jerome made an extended stop in Antioch, where he learned Greek. Ordained a priest, he set out for Constantinople, where he became an admirer of Origen and translated some of his works. Returned to Rome for a synod and received a commission by Pope Damasus to revise the Latin Bible. After the death of Damasus, Jerome traveled to the East again, stopping at Antioch and Alexandria, then settling in Bethlehem. There, he led a monastery funded by his Roman friend Paula and produced many translations, letters, and polemical works. Influenced by Epiphanius, he sided against Rufinus and John of Jerusalem in the Origenist controversy. When Pelagius arrived in the area, he became entangled in the Pelagian controversy, which led to a group of Pelagians burning Jerome's monastery. Corresponded with a younger Augustine late in his life. (Altaner, 462-76; CPL 203-16; Drobner, 339-51; Kannengiesser [article by Pierre Jay], 2:1094-1133; ODCC 872-73; Quasten, 4:212-46)

Marius Victorinus (b. ca. 280, d. after 362)

Born in Africa, trained as a philosopher, taught rhetoric in Rome, then later converted to Christianity. His Christian writings consist of treatises against the Arians, hymns,

and commentaries on at least three Pauline letters (including Galatians), all of which betray his philosophical rather than theological or scriptural training. (Altaner, 430-32; CPL 29-31; Kannengiesser, 2:1014-16; ODCC 1706-7; Quasten, 4:69-80)

Pelagius (ca. 354-427)

Born in Britain (possibly Ireland), educated in Rome. Fled to Carthage when the Goths invaded Italy, and soon found opposition by Augustine, then moved on to Jerusalem and became embroiled in the Origenist controversy, siding against Jerome. Later exiled, possibly to Egypt. Along with his controversial doctrinal works, Pelagius wrote a commentary on the Pauline epistles, also circulated under the names of Jerome and Primasius. (Altaner, 439-41; CPL 251-59; Drobner, 404-7; Kannengiesser, 2:1234-40; Quasten, 4:465-86)

Primasius (d. after 552)

Bishop of Hadrumetum in Africa. Wrote a history of heresies, which is no longer extant, and a commentary on Revelation that borrows frequently from a lost work of Tyconius. (Altaner, 590; CPL 288; Kannengiesser, 2:1325; ODCC 1336)

Rufinus (ca. 345-410)

Born at Concordia near Aquileia, studied at Rome, then under Didymus the Blind in Alexandria. Ordained in Jerusalem, where he got caught up in the Origenist controversy, siding with Bishop John against Epiphanius and Jerome. After his return to Rome, he published a translation of Origen's *De principiis*, which stirred up the

controversy anew and sparked a series of polemical writings between him and Jerome. Known primarily as a translator, chiefly of Origen but also of a handful of other Greek fathers, but he also wrote some original works, including *Commentarius in symbolum Apostolorum*, based on Cyril of Jerusalem's catecheses. (Altaner, 459-62; CPL 63-66; Drobner, 337-39; Kannengiesser, 2:1134-36; ODCC 1433; Quasten, 4:247-54)

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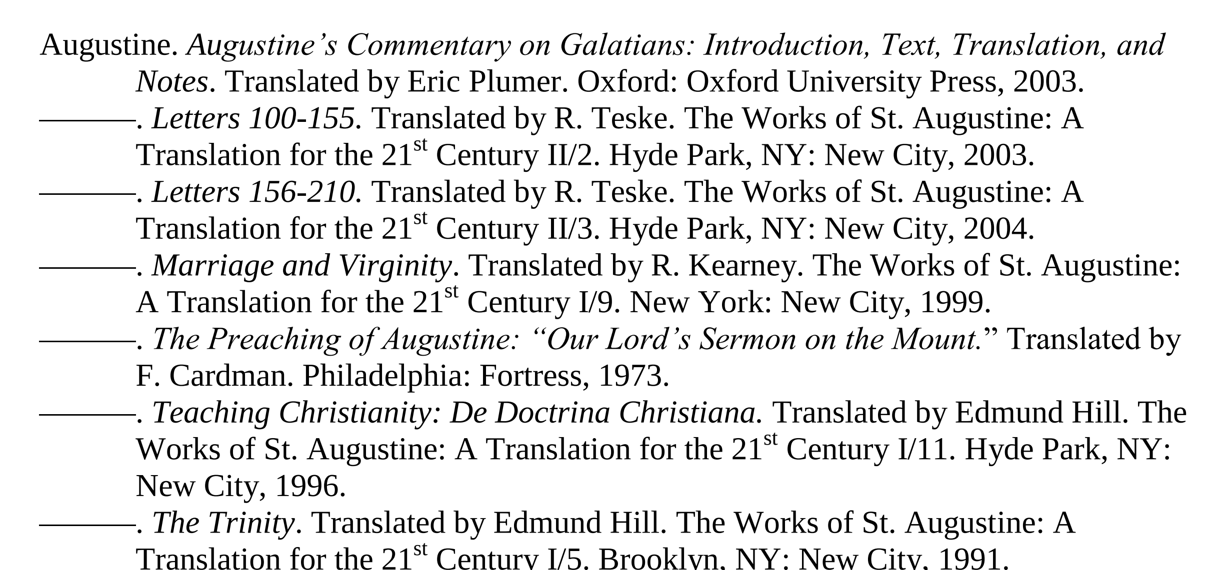
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The end of the book; thanks be to God!